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ABSTRACT

This second volume of a six-volume study updates and concludes the description of the historical development of a school district code-named "Milford," presented in volume I. Board minutes remain the primary source of data with increasing amounts of information from public documents, interviews, and observation of meetings. Following a brief introduction, chapter 2 entitled "The Tangle of Administrative Succession" in the Milford School District in 1961-62, describes the year the authors call "perhaps the most significant in the district's history." Chapters 3 and 4 focus on the tenure of "Steven Spanman" as district superintendent (1962-66). Chapter 5 details the initiation during Spanman's tenure of the innovative elementary school code-named "Kensington." Chapters 6 and 7 describe the era of superintendent "Ron George" from the beginning (1966-68) of his tenure through the "quiet" middle years (1968-74). In chapters 8 and 9, the authors examine the year retrenchment began (1974-75) and the "final chapter" in George's tenure and Milford's history (1975-80). Chapters 10 and 11, the concluding chapters, offer interpretive comments, "metatheoretical" observations, a "systemic perspective" on innovation and change, an outline of "emerging and necessary substantive concepts," and a general conclusion of "ways of schooling and living." In order to protect the anonymity of the school district studied in such detail, pseudonyms have been used for all place names (school, school district, city, county, state) and personal names (school superintendents, school board members, teachers, students) appearing in the various volumes of this set. (JMB)

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INNOVATION AND CHANGE IN AMERICAN EDUCATION
KENSINGTON REVISITED: A FIFTEEN YEAR FOLLOW-UP OF AN INNOVATIVE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL AND ITS FACULTY

VOLUME II

MILFORD'S RECENT HISTORY: THE SCHOOL DISTRICT AS CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT OF THE KENSINGTON SCHOOL

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Milford's Recent History:
The School District as Contemporary Context of the Kensington School

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Foreword

to

Innovation and Change in American Education
Kensington Revisited: A 15 Year Follow-Up of An Innovative School and Its Faculty

(Smith, Dwyer, Kleine, Prunty)

This research is about innovation and change in American education. It began as Kensington Revisited: A 15 year follow-up of an innovative school and its faculty, Project G78-0074, supported by the National Institute of Education. As in most of our case study research, the initial problem was buffeted about by the reality of settings, events, and people as captured by our several modes of inquiry--participant observation, intensive open ended interviews, and the collection and analysis of multiple documents. The setting was Kensington, an elementary school built fifteen years ago as a prototypical innovative building with open space, laboratory suites instead of classrooms, a perception core instead of a library and a nerve center for the latest in technological education equipment. The people were the series of administrators, teachers, pupils, and parents who worked in, attended, or sent their children to the school. Three principals have come and gone, the fourth is in his first year. Three cadres of faculty have staffed the school. The events were the activities of those people as they built and transformed the school over the years. This story we found, and we constructed, as part of a larger setting, the Milford School District which had its own story, actors, and events and which provided an important context for Kensington.

In the course of the search for the major theme about which our developing ideas and data could be integrated. "Innovation and Change in American Education", became the guiding thesis. That theme is composed of a half dozen sub themes, each of which makes up a separate volume in the report. While we believe the totality of the study has its own kind of integrity and that each volume extends the meanings of the others, we have written each as a "stand alone" piece. That is, we believe each speaks to an important domain of Innovation and Change in American Education, each draws most heavily upon a particular subset of our data, and each contains important descriptive narratives, substantive grounded interpretations and generalizations. This foreword, which appears in each volume, is intended, in a few sentences, to keep the totality and each of the pieces in the forefront of the reader's consciousness.

Volume I Chronicling the Milford School District: An Historical Context of the Kensington School

Kensington's fifteen year existence is but one small segment of Milford's sixty-five years of recorded history and one school in a district with a dozen other schools. The superintendent who built the school is just one of five individuals who have held the post. As we have told the story, we have raised generalizations regarding innovation and change, and we have presaged themes of policy, of local, state and national influences on the school, of organizational structure and process, and of curriculum and teaching. The key documents in developing the perspective were the official school board minutes. Newsletters to patrons, newspaper accounts, other records, and interviews, formal and informal, supplemented the basic documents.

Volume II Milford: The School District as Contemporary Context

In a fundamental sense, Volume II is a continuation, a final chapter as it were, to the historical context of the Milford School District. It is a long chapter, however, for the central actors and events which immediately and directly shaped the Kensington School are in place, just as the school is in place. The ebb and flow of the district, in its recent history, is brought to a particular focus, one that will illuminate the events and themes that appear in the development and change in the Kensington School over its fifteen year history and in its current status. The board of education, the superintendency, the central office staff, and their interrelationships lead toward "a governance and organizational perspective on innovation and change". Board minutes remain the central core of the data with increasing amounts of information from public documents (e.g. newspapers), interviews with central actors, and observation of meetings.

Volume III Innovation and Change at Kensington: Annals of a Community and School

After carefully examining the historical context of the Milford School District, our focus shifts to innovation and change at the Kensington School. Our search for an explanation of the profound changes that have taken place in a once innovative school, has pushed us back in time and obliged us to consider such wider topics as demography, neighborhoods, and political jurisdiction. Volume III begins by tracing origins and development of a community that became part of the Milford School District in 1949 and a neighborhood that began sending its children to Kensington School in 1964. With the opening of Kensington, the annals of the community are joined by a history of the school. As we develop the stories of Kensington and its neighborhood in tandem, we begin to tell of the interdependency of school and community and to further our understanding of innovation and change in schooling in contemporary American Society.

Volume IV Kensington Today: Sailing Stormy Straits, a View of Education Policy in Action

An ethnographic account of the school today with particular reference to educational policy in action at the day to day school level is presented here. The major metaphor is a ship sailing through stormy straits on a perilous journey during the 1979-80 school year. Staff and students produce vivid scenes reflecting issues in racial integration, special education, discipline, and instruction in the basic subjects. Policy analysis seems analogous to the fine art of navigation.

Volume V Educational Innovators Then and Now

Crucial to any education enterprise are the people who staff the schools. Smith and Keith characterized the original faculty of Kensington as true believers. In this Volume we sketch life histories, careers, serials of the original faculty based on extended open-ended interviews (2-7 hours), comments by spouses, friends and colleagues, and various writings—books, brochures, reports, and dissertations. Patterns and themes arise in the form of "secular religion," "you do go home again," "organizational niches and career opportunities for educationists," "maintenance of educational ideology," "continuity and change in personality," and "doctoral education, a disaster for reform oriented practitioners."

Volume VI *Case Study Research Methodology: The Intersect of Participant Observation, Historical Method, Life History Research, and Follow-Up Studies*

Regularly in our inquiry we have produced "methodological appendices" to our research reports. We saw our efforts as clarifying the craft of research as we practiced it, ordering its evolving nature, and continuously attempting to integrate it with other ways of knowing. This essay continues in that tradition. Specifically our mode of participant observation now has enlarged itself by a substantial historical thrust and a substantial life history or biographical thrust. In addition, our research is an instance of a special methodological stance, a follow-up or return to the setting of an earlier major study. (e.g., *Middletown in Transition*) In this way it takes on a time series quality with repeated observation. In doing the descriptive and analytical pieces, Volumes I through V, in reading about how others have done similar work, in talking with proponents of the various methods, we have reached for a broader synthesis of case study research methods in the intersection of these several approaches. We see all this as an important addition to the methodological literature in educational inquiry.

In summary, our research is a unique blend of approaches to the problems and issues of Innovation and change in American Education. It is grounded in the multiple aspects of a single school in a single school district. As in all case studies the particular events have major meanings for the actors in the setting, but, also, we believe that these events often capture images and ideas that have relevance for other people in other times and places. Recently, Geertz has spoken of these as "experience-near" and "experience-distant" conceptions. In each form we hope to be providing mirrors for educationists to see themselves better, that is more clearly, to be conscious of rephrased problems, and to create more viable options and alternatives. Our multi volumed report is presented with these aspirations in mind.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The title of this volume, Milford's Recent History: The School District as Contemporary Context of the Kensington School, aptly states the scope and intent of this part of our narrative and interpretation. A new superintendent, Dr. Steven Spanman, is just arriving on the scene in the Milford School District. The need for an additional elementary school in the District is apparent. That school will be the Kensington Elementary School. While the history of the Kensington School itself will appear in another volume (III), our approach here will explicate activities in the Central Office which bear on the origins and evolution of the school. In this way we pick up the threads of the history of the Milford District from Volume I and we progressively move to a focus on the interdependency between the Kensington School and its contemporary context. But even as we do this we will continue our larger focus for our quarry is really broader than Kensington, that is, Innovation and Change in American Education.

The potentiality of the single case for an indepth rethinking of the problems of the evolution of schooling in American society provides another way of stating our agenda. In a sense much of the professional talk of educational innovation and change over the last few decades strikes us as oddly off the mark, similar to what Gilbert Ryle once called a category mistake. It's not a simple error of detail, nor a simple mistake in concept usage but rather a fundamental misconstrual of the domain in question. It leaves one with a growing malaise and uneasiness often an initial tacit feeling that "something's all wrong." Progressively we have tried to refine and make explicit our concerns.

As we became involved in the history of the school district, much of which has been reported in Volume I, and especially as we tried to exploit the public record of the Milford School Board minutes, our malaise and reconstrual moved along in tandem. The explicit form of our research questions shifted from "What has happened to the Kensington School?" and "Why have the changes in the school occurred?" to the puzzlement, "Why did they build such a school in the first place?" It seemed as though, an understanding of how and why the innovative school was built might help fathom some of the changes in the school itself. The biological and physical sciences look for "mechanisms" to understand natural processes (Easley, 1974 and Easley and Taksuoka, 1968). Our bias toward social science is to look for actions, interactional structures and decisions of individuals living out their lives in multiple overlapping and sometimes conflicting groups. In our view these give the "mechanisms" of social change.

The central thread of our data continue to be school Board minutes. In Milford,, the bound copies of the minutes also include the Superintendent's agendas, consequently one has a related, but still an additional record. This becomes exceedingly significant as one begins to contrast Superintendents--Mr. McBride, the long termed Superintendent from 1935 to 1962; Dr. Steven Spanman, the Superintendent from 1962-1966; and the current incumbent, Dr. Ronald George, 1966 to the present. Further, the Board on occasion included in the permanent record a variety of additional documents--long stenotyped records of significant meetings, reports of consultants, letters from patrons and so forth. To these multiple records we have added several of our own. We have in the last few years attended a number of Board meetings and produced our own observational records, we have interviewed a number of patrons and staff and perhaps most significantly we have had brief focused conversations with Central Office personnel. In regard to the later, as we worked in the Central Office reading and analyzing the Board minutes, staff would initiate a friendly "How are things going?". We would comment with a general "Slowly" or "Painfully" and sometimes a specific "In 1962. . ." or "In the Spring of 1968...." On occasion this would stimulate an anecdote or story or two. Sometimes, when a puzzling set of events was occurring we would focus on a specific event or individual from the records, e.g. "Did you know a teacher named Nussbaum?" or "What happened to you when the schools were closed down in 1970?" Some of our most vivid instances of the potency of triangulation (Denzin, 1970) or the multi method matrix (Smith, 1979) appeared in these interchanges They are raised and analyzed in detail in the discussion of methodology.

Increasingly we have spoken of a "longitudinal nested systems model" for understanding innovation and change. History of groups and communities and life histories of individuals intertwine conceptually with the contemporaneous dynamics of social systems composed of individuals with strong sentiments taking action in specific times and places to further their interests. Concretely we turn now to the 1961-62 school year, and what we call "the tangle of administrative succession" as we set the stage for the building of the innovative Kensington School.

2. THE TANGLE OF ADMINISTRATIVE SUCCESSION

2.1 Introduction

In a fundamental sense, the 1961-62 year was not only the end of the McBride Era, it was also the beginning of the Spanman Era. Unbeknownst to anyone at the time, it was the beginning of the Georgian Period, as well. For any theoretical model of innovation and change, the year is perhaps the most significant one in the history of the school district, and, consequently, in our attempt at conceptualization the most critical. We go back to the Board minutes of July 1961 and tell the story in more detail. Into this we weave the CTA action and the two strands that take us out of the district to NEA and to the highly visible consultants. Finally we return to a significant 3-3 tie vote in the Board.

2.2 The District Crucible: 1961-62

The Board's Action

On July 11, 1961, the Board met at 7 p.m. and went into executive session at 7:05. The first item (No. 3822) in the minutes:

> Mr. Osborn moved that the Board request Mr. McBride to submit his resignation as Superintendent of Schools. Mr. Henderson seconded the motion. The motion carried unanimously.
>
> Mr. McBride was informed of the Board's action by Mr. Tompkins and the reasons the request was considered to be in the best interests of the School District. Mr. McBride asked for time to consider the motion and the request was granted with further action delayed until later this meeting. (7/11/61)

The Board then continued its activities, which had been started in April, of stripping the Superintendent of his formal duties. Then, the Assistant Superintendent had been put in charge of the instructional program and certificated personnel. He was instructed to report directly to the Board. Now, the Business Official was instructed to report directly to the Board on some eight functions, e.g. from 1) purchasing and distribution of all supplies to 8) the execution of all phases of new construction. The motion also carried unanimously.

At 2:50 a.m., executive session was declared once again and the following minute was recorded:

> The Board asked Mr. McBride for his decision on the matter raised by the motion in No. 3822 above. Mr. McBride said that he had considered the request for resignation, but that he would not resign, basing his decision on the fact that approximately $38,000[1] would be coming to him under his present contract. Whereupon, Mr. Henderson moved, in order to improve working relations among members of the administrative and instructional staffs, that Superintendent McBride be directed to act exclusively as advisor to the Board in such fields of educational policy and practice as might be assigned to him from time to time by the Board; that the Business Official and the Assistant Superintendent in charge of Instruction continue to discharge those responsibilities of direct operation of business and educational affairs that have been heretofore assigned them by the Board, that all of the above personnel report directly to the Board of Education and discharge any specific directives hereafter made to them and that office, stenographic and secretarial facilities be adjusted under the direction of the Board to reflect the changes in volume and nature of work that will occur under this reorganization of the detail duties of the principle administrative officers of the district. The motion was seconded by Mr. Osborn and was carried unanimously. (6/61)

The meeting adjourned at 3 a.m.

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[1] He had two years remaining on his contract, his salary was $17,000/year.

The next meeting occurred six weeks later on August 29, 1961, the week before school began. The minutes note that "Also present was a citizen's group of approximately 115 people." After some preliminary general business the Board President introduced the Board Members, Administrators and school attorney to the audience. He then read a four page single space "Statement on Changes in Administrative Setup" (No. 3868). Mostly he raised the issues we have already reported on, but he provided a context important for a number of issues in our analysis:

> In reviewing the functions of the Board of Education, we find that under Midwest State Law, the Board is given the power to make all needful rules and regulations for the organization, grading and government of the school district. The law gives the Board a wide discretionary authority and actually the only basic requirement is the exercise of good judgment within the frame work of the applicable statutes and court decisions. (8/29/61)

He then specified the financial aspects and professional aspects of Board activity and the need for confidence in the administrators to whom the responsibilities have been delegated. When the "Board loses confidence in the administrators ability and good judgment" it must take action in what is a "difficult" and "most unpleasant" duty. The Board President, Mr. Tompkins, made this specification of problems:

> We recognize the long service Mr. McBride has given to Milford and this made the decision doubly hard. But this district has had an explosive student population growth in the last ten years, and we believe Mr. McBride cannot cope with the modern educational problems which confront us. No secrecy surrounds this action, but also there is no sensationalism in the fact that a man is no longer capable of dealing with the problems involved in a highly complex employment.
>
> We believe that Mr. McBride is not now providing the necessary leadership as Superintendent which our teachers, our parents, and our students have a right to expect and in our collective opinions, he is incapable of providing such leadership in the

> future. He has failed to implement the desired policies and procedures of the Board. In fact, he has attempted to thwart these at every opportunity. His failure to cooperate with the desired changes has indeed been detrimental to the School District and has resulted in a lack of unity, harmony, and confidence on all subordinate levels.

The President indicated that this was neither a Summer phenomenon, or a partisan and political action since the April elections. Rather four of the current Board, who had voted for the three year contract 18 months before "...have since realized that it should not have been given."

After the presentation the Board opened the meeting for discussion, questions and answers. These items were to be part of the official minutes. The meeting adjourned at 1:30 a.m. No record of this discussion appears. At the next regular meeting, they voted to delete the notes because of their incomplete nature. We've been unable to find any extant record of this discussion.

The CTA Action and Aftermath

On September 6th, 1961 the Milford Community Teachers Association passed the following resolution:

> Be it moved by the Milford Community Teachers Association that the Suburban County Teachers Association, the Midwest State Teachers Association, and the National Educational Association be asked to set up a fact finding group which would study the current controversial situation existing between the Board of Education and the Superintendent of Milford School District.
>
> Such group to act as impartial fact-finder and to submit a report of its findings and recommend actions to the Board of Education, the Superintendent, the Staff, and the Community.

A copy of the motion and an accompanying letter dated September 11, 1962 was sent to the President of the Board. The letter indicated it had passed by an "overwhelming majority." It concluded with the sentence:

> We trust that you will hear from each of these organizations soon and will accept this resolution in the spirit in which it is offered.

The letter carried the signature of Ronald George, President of the CTA. The Board read the letter and acknowledged its receipt on this meeting of September 12th.

In the Board minutes the next item in the controversy appeared in late October, the 24th, in the form of a motion to send a night letter to Mr. Leckey and Mr. Norman of the NEA Professional Rights Committee with copies to the CTA, Suburban and State Teachers organizations and all school administrators, principals, and local newspapers. The three page night letter began with a direct challenge:

> It has been brought to the attention of the Milford Board of Education that you will be in Central City on November 8th "to make a preliminary study of the situation in Milford." Unfortunately, all actions taken by your organization and the local association have come before the Board only through releases to the press or through verfaxed copies of correspondence between parties who have not seen fit to keep the Board apprised of actions being taken. These actions directly affect the educational system which is the primary responsibility of our local Board of Education.
>
> Let me state that we do not recognize the existence of any controversy between the Board and the Superintendent...

Seven paragraphs then laid out the Board's perception of the situation, its responsibilities, and the courses of action open to the various parties. The concluding paragraph capsuled their stance:

> To summarize our position, we do not recognize the existence of any controversy; we believe it is presumptuous for anyone or any group to attempt an independent investigation of the confidential relationship existing between the Superintendent and the Board of Education; we feel your committee is attempting to intervene in a situation which is not a part of the present relationship existing between the teachers, the administrators, and the Board of Education. While we have had no official request from you, but only the copy of a letter addressed to Mr. George and his unaddressed and unsigned request for a meeting place to be provided, we believe that no school property can be made available to you, that no subsidized time of district personnel can be provided and that there can be no official cooperation by the Board of Education with your committee. Let me add however that, if you so request, we will convene a special meeting of the Board of Education to meet with you and further explain the foregoing position which we, of necessity, have taken. (10/24/61)

As a motion, the letter was seconded and carried unanimously. The Board adjourned at 2:05 a.m.

Internal Board Strife

On Tuesday November 7, 1961 the Board met in a special session at 3:00 p.m. with most of the Milford administrators, principals, and teachers. Mr. Tompkins opened with a five page statement. A fifty-five (55) page transcript of the proceedings, prepared by stenotype reporters became a permanent part of the Board minutes. The meeting adjourned at 5:25 p.m.

The context of the proceedings sketch the complexity of the "problem." Immediately after Mr. Tompkins' initial remark as President of the Board, he commented:

> There have been rumors, I know, that there has been a division among members of the Board partly upon the fact that a suit is presently pending between myself and Mr. Quigley[2] and at this

---

[2] A Board member and at one time the President of the Board.

> time, in the context and for the reasons I have indicated, I wish to recognize Mr. Quigley to speak to the meeting of existing relationships among Board members.

Present day staff of the district who were present at the time recall the meeting as a public humiliation of Mr. Quigley, a forced apology to settle the law suit which Mr. Tompkins had brought. Mr. Quigley's words, at the time, were these:

> Members of the Board have criticized my judgment on some issues and I, in turn have criticized them. I have disagreed with our Board President in his position on certain school matters and have expressed my criticism on public occasions, and I know he has likewise disagreed with me and criticized me. However, no Board member, to my knowledge, and certainly not I, have ever intended any difference of opinion or critical expression to be a reflection on any individual personally as distinguished from his official action nor to reflect upon his integrity or character. Specifically, the statements made by me at the Teachers Appreciation Dinner were not intended to in any way question the personal integrity of Mr. Tompkins and I regret that my remarks were phrased in such a manner as to possibly have created that impression.

Mr. Tompkins then commented:

> ....In line with the statement Mr. Quigley has made, particularly those that indicate no personal slights have been intended, I wish to say now that the pending legal claim will be dismissed. (11/7/61)

We do not have any base rate data on the number of suits filed between school board members now or twenty years ago. We assume that it is a reasonably rare event.

The Board's Stance with the Professional Staff

The meeting which contained the item of internal strife intended more generally to clarify the relationship between the Board and teachers in the context of the particular incident, termination of McBride's tenure as Superintendent. Mr. Tompkins' formal statement presented a half dozen items:

1) Recognition of professional status of the teaching staff
2) Staff entitled to full support of the Board
3) Full support of professional activities and individual advancement
4) Free speech without fear
5) Full support for adequate salary levels and taxes undergirding them
6) Encourage individual professional advancement and proper intellectual climate
7) Teachers and administrators must participate in public relations and explain their work and program
8) The Board is the policy making group

These were amplified with brief paragraphs, long illustrations, and commentary.

In the later discussion to a question by a staff member, no doubt appeared in the Board President's view of final authority and power:

> You are a teacher in one of the grade--elementary or high schools, between there you report directly to your principal who in turn is responsible to a supervisory principal, who in turn is responsible to the superintendent, who in turn is responsible to the Board of Education. (11/7/61)

As the meeting continued, positive comments were made about the Board's meeting with NEA officials. Also comments appeared about some internal CTA concerns for the rapidity of the CTA action and lack of advance notice to members. The Board President adroitly stayed out of the possible entanglement in the internal affairs of the CTA. At several points he indicated that the CTA organization belonged to the teachers:

> ...the Board does not want to enter into the province of your association, this we feel is entirely up to you as professional people. (11/7/61)

For fear of suit and because no legal statues demanded it, the Board refused to give reasons for its actions. The teachers were told only that the decision was unanimous. Actually, according to the Board President, the state statutes demand all personnel discussions to be in the privacy of executive session. The discussion ended with some residual unhappy remarks by teachers regarding the Board's action.

The episode almost seemed to end by falling into a void. No record appears in the minutes of the Board's "unofficial meeting" with the NEA representatives. The semester wore on and reports and policy statements on discipline and college study were reviewed. Community College developments and constitutional revisions for Midwest State School Boards Association appeared.

In late November a letter and report arrived. In early December the Board met.

The NEA Action

The quarrel between Tompkins, the President of the Board, and Quigley, a long time Board member and former Board President, indicates the depth of feeling, the severity of the conflict, and the tremendous tangle of issues, events and personalities involved in any major political action. But it was Ron George and the CTA's earlier action which propelled outside forces into Milford and its day to day affairs. We return to our story with a set of questions.

When a general question arises about hiring a new superintendent *several subquestions come to mind. Why a new superintendent? Why now?* and Why this particular individual? Each instance has its own special circumstances, and, as our narrative shows, this seems true of McBride's "departure" and Spanman's "joining" the Milford District. The story continues to play in and out of the minutes of the Board of Education. The casual reader, as well as the serious inquirer might find a long ten page memo, and an accompanying letter, a vivid point to return to in late November, 1961. The letter was directed to Mr. Everett Tompkins, President of the Milford Board of Education by Sterling Leckey, Chairman of the NEA Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities. The critical substantive paragraph carried the tenor of the remarks:

> As emphasized in the statement, we hope you will recognize the need for deliberate action by both sides in the proposals made. The undignified treatment to which Mr. McBride has been submitted does not effect him as an individual alone, --it is considered an affront to all the professional personnel in the school system. Under the circumstances the Board of Education has nothing to lose and considerable to gain in finding a solution to the situation that will remove a good deal of bitterness from the present conditions and make possible an immediate step toward a more wholesome administrative situation. (P.D. 11/19/61)

Copies of the report went also to 1) the superintendent, 2) the Suburban Teachers Association, 3) the Milford CTA, and 4) the Midwest State Teachers Association. The Board unanimously voted that the CTA may distribute copies to all teachers and others, "the same as the Official Minutes are now distributed." The multiple constituencies in the community, already involved, continued to be informed.

The section of the report entitled "Treatment of Superintendent" states the problem, as perceived by the Commission. We present this section in its entirety:

> On April 7, 1961, three days after the election of three men without previous board experience, the Milford School District Board of Education unanimously agreed that the Assistant Superintendent should report directly to the Board on items concerning curriculum and certified personnel. Until this time, it has always been the responsibility of the Superintendent of Schools to inform the Board concerning such matters. It is a surprising thing that an important decision of this nature, with such severe overtones, would be taken by the Board without more first hand knowledge acquired by official contact with the Superintendent over a reasonable period of time.
>
> Three months later, on July 11, the Board, by unanimous vote, requested the resignation of the Superintendent. The Superintendent refused to comply. In a statement released at a subsequent meeting, the Board President stated that the resignation had been requested because the Superintendent "had failed to carry out Board policies and procedures and had attempted to thwart them at every opportunity." No specific examples of failures or resistance to Board wishes were stated.
>
> At that time, twenty-four months remained on the contract which the previous Board had issued to the Superintendent. The Board, having been advised that it was questionable whether Midwest State law would permit the "buying up" of the contract, made what it considered a reasonable monetary offer to induce the Superintendent to resign, but the offer was considerably less than the sum the Superintendent would realize from the full performance of the contract. When the Superintendent refused to accept the offer, the Board reassigned the duties of the Superintendent to other administrators. Both parties have remained adamant in their position on this matter since that time.
>
> It was not the purpose of this inquiry to determine whether or not the Superintendent was capable of performing his total responsibilities. It appears to many members of the professional staff and to many citizens, however, that it is nothing short of tragic for a man who has devoted twenty-six years of service to the school system to end his career under extremely embarrassing and unhappy conditions. No information was presented from any source to indicate that there had been any dramatic change in the personality of the Superintendent or any abrupt loss of professional, mental, or physical ability that would warrant such contemptuous treatment of the chief administrative officer of the school system.

> The persons conducting this inquiry do not question the sincerity of the Board of Education in their desire to strengthen the administration of the Milford School System. We do, however, question the choice of alternatives in dealing with the situation and deplore the indignity to which an important member of the school staff was submitted. It is to be expected that many members of the faculty of the schools would suffer a great loss of confidence in the judgment and good will of the Board, as well as the likelihood of proper professional treatment for themselves as a result of the Board's action in regard to the Superintendent.
>
> The Superintendent's refusal to accept the Board's offer of partial settlement of the contract in view of the substantial amount due him under his contract is certainly reasonable. To the extent he has accepted conditions not to his liking in order to prevent excessive turmoil in the school system he is to be commended. It is to be hoped that the Board and the community will find a means to bring about a solution of the present situation that will restore confidence, that will be satisfactory to the members of the teaching profession, and which, should the resignation or termination be effective, would be reassuring to anyone who may succeed him in the position of Superintendent of Schools. (P.D. 11/61)

The Commission developed several lines of argument which sketched out the breadth and depth of the problem. We merely list them with brief comment:

1) "the controversy...has reached a stage where no simple solution is possible."
2) "...all parties to the dispute must be willing to make concessions, adjustments and sincere conciliatory efforts"
3) The teachers have developed "doubt and uncertainty" concerning possible arbitrary board action to anyone who disagrees.
4) The long term difficulties in "a system of multiple unit administrative control" and the tendency for board members "to personally assume administrative responsibilities."
5) The longer the conditions prevail the more difficult the resolutions.
6) The need to take a series of interlocking actions.

Several aspects of an overall solution were raised in the report:

1) Development of a Policy Manual applicable to all administrators, supervisors, and teachers.

2) One part would be "a set of approved personnel policies, including particularly a Fair Dismissal Policy." The latter would include written notice, an opportunity for improvement, and a hearing before final action.
3) Involvement of Board members, administrators, and teachers in the process.
4) Establish an office of Senior Consultant to the Board, equal in salary and coterminous with current contract.
5) "...secure the best qualified person available for the position of Superintendent of Schools. In view of the deep seated emotions that have developed over the present situation, it would be well to endeavor to find someone who has not been in any way involved in the present difficulties."
6) The new Superintendent should be "...a man who will have the personality to win confidence, the background to develop a program of quality education, the integrity to stand for what he and his staff deem important as well as carry out the specific decisions of the Board, and the ability to win the cooperation and devoted efforts of all those responsible for the program of the public schools in Milford."
7) To increase the likelihood of securing an able successor the report suggested setting up an ad hoc committee of several prominent educators to study the district, screen applicants and develop a short list of several candidates for the Board's final consideration.

Denouement

Real life events seldom follow totally the lines of classical drama. The denouement of the Board/Superintendent conflict and the district crisis ended quickly and quietly, at least as reflected in the Board Minutes. On December 12th, agreements were reached between the Board and the Superintendent which reflected the substance of the Committee's recommendations: Senior Consultant--salary, office, travel, and duties as raised in the report; and beginnings of a committee to select a new superintendent. A detailed letter went to Mr. Leckey of NEA on the next day indicating the agreements. Responses were also made to the several aspects of the analysis and recommendations. In February the Board Committee reported the hiring of Dr. Theodore Jones and Dr.

Russell Johnson as a two person screening committee to help in the selection of the new superintendent. The consultants were to solicit names from some 20 university officials and to interview at AASA late in February. The Superintendents on the committee, while from the midwestern part of the country, were nationally recognized members of the profession. They had access to networks of training institutions, leading figures in administration, and "comers" in the field.

Latently, though the drama had important implications and set a number of "firsts", what people often refer to as setting precedents. They include:

1) major involvement of the CTA in district policy
2) appeals by teachers to their national organization
3) appearance of a national organization in local and district affairs
4) the national organization as a respected outside mediator whose proposals carried the weight of objectivity and fairness and whose substance formed the basis of the compromise and agreements

Several items seemed more of a continuation:

1) modernization
2) broadened scope of national consultants, advice, and reports
3) involvement in the "national network"
4) continued community involvement, discussion, and debate

Final Events of 1961-62

The torrent of normal business poured down on the Board. Serious discipline problems, discharging of firearms by several students at the high school, arose, were discussed, and settled. The Metropolitan Teachers Association became active regarding salaries here and in communities scattered throughout the county. Issues "About Teaching

Democracy and Communism in the Public Schools" appeared on the agenda. Teachers resigned and replacements were hired. The Senior Consultant developed a civil defense plan for the district. Work on buildings and building additions continued. The new junior high was opened in January. The problems of placing insurance at inexpensive rates and with some equity among agents in the community continued in the form of an "insurance committee"; hours of discussion and a series of legal opinions were involved.

In April the two incumbents on the Board who were up for reelection. They were replaced by Mr. Wilkerson and Mr. Baskin. The two incumbents each received about 2500 votes, the two newcomers about 3600 votes. Mr. Wilkerson had been on the Board previously.[3] The first vote taken concerned Mr. Tompkins being returned to the Presidency. The vote was a 3-3 tie between him and Mr. Baskin. Mr. Wilkerson was elected Vice President unanimously. The Board adjourned at 4:00 a.m., April 3rd. A week later Mr. Tompkins won on a 3 for, 2 against and 1 not voting. Unanimity was gone once again, but the change was not sufficient this time to save Mr. McBride, as it had a half dozen years before.

In an unknowingly significant event for the Milford District, and in an illuminatingly significant item celebrating the interpretations that kingdoms hang by threads and that chance is a major antecedent of human events, Minute #4397 appears on April 10, 1962:

---

[3] The Board was composed now of Baskin, Henderson, Osborn, Quigley, Tompkins, and Wilkerson.

> Mr. Henderson moved that New Junior High School teachers, Ronald George, not be re-employed for the school year 1962-63, because of his contemptuous attitude toward Board members, his irrational behavior in public, and his totally unprofessional behavior. Mr. Osborn seconded the motion. Messers. Henderson, Osborn, and Tompkins voting "yes" and Messers. Wilkerson, Baskin, and Quigley voting "no." The motion failed.
>
> (Tie vote on re-employment automatically fails) (4/10/62)

As one colleague commented jokingly in an interview, "If they had phrased it as "rehiring" he would have been out."

In late April, at a special session of the Board on a Saturday afternoon at 3:30 the Board, in executive session, voted 4-2 to offer Mr. Steven Spanman a three year contract as Superintendent. He accepted. Those voting for were Baskin, Henderson, Osborn, and Tompkins. Those voting against were Quigley and Wilkerson. No minutes were recorded of prior interviewing, the short list of candidates, nor the issues. The votes were along the lines of the pro and anti McBride factions with Mr. Baskin as the swing member. Significantly, except for Mr. Baskin, the votes were the same on the attempt to fire Ron George.

In May, Ron George, the not to be suppressed junior high school social studies teacher and president of the CTA, wrote a brief letter to the school Board. It is reproduced as Figure 1.

Insert Figure 1 About Here

On the same ditto sheet was the letter to Mr. Leckey in which Mr. George appologized for the long delay in writing, with the reason of awaiting

May 4, 1962

Gentlemen:

In keeping with the principle which I stated to you last September that this is the "year of truth", the following is our exact copy of a letter which was sent to Mr. Sterling Leckey of the NEA today. It is submitted to you for your information. The letter was duplicated because it was not possible to get enough carbon copies.

Respectfully submitted,

Ronald George, President
Milford Community
Teachers Association

Figure 1: Letter to School Board

the April School Board elections. He indicated that the new Superintendent, Steven Spanman, had been hired with the help of Drs. Jones and Johnson, the consultants to the Board. Further he indicated that:

> In the School Board election of April 3, 1962, the two incumbents, William Eads and Frank Oakes, were defeated by David Wilkerson and Stuart Baskin, who ran on the platform of dissatisfaction with the Board's handling of Mr. McBride and general interference in the administration. (5/4/62)

The final paragraph in the letter needs no explanation:

> Now to get to the real purpose of this letter. You will note in Items 4397 and 4398 that Mr. Iverson (a member of the CTA Executive Committee) and I are accused of "contemptuous", "irrational" and "totally unprofessional" behavior. Mr. Iverson and I would like to have an opinion from you and Mr. Norman as to whether such accusations in these printed Board minutes which are distributed widely to the public, would be grounds for legal action against Mr. Henderson as the maker of the motion and against Mr. Osborn, who seconded the motion Number 4397.
>
> We will appreciate hearing from you on this matter.
> (5/4/62)

The Board acknowledged receipt of the letter and voted unanimously to attach it to the minutes. They added the comment:

> It was noted that Mr. George's letter was a personal one and was not participated in by the Community Teachers Association or the Executive Committee thereof. (5/8/62)

No other comments are recorded. Other business of the Board continued--discussions about the Civil Air Patrol, receipt of a survey on future plans of the Class of '62, a 4th grade teacher's "informative" presentation of a reading program, and bids on a senior high Language Laboratory for $10,841. The Open House and dedication of the new junior high school were set for May 20th. The new Superintendent and his wife, Dr. and Mrs. Spanman, were to be invited. The gym of that junior high school, two years later, was to be a three month home for the 4th, 5th, and 6th grade students, the ISD, Independent Study Division, of the Kensinton School. Among the half dozen new teachers hired for next year were Joe Harlan, an elementary guidance counselor, and Mary Radford, an elementary teacher who would be part of Kensington's staff two years later.

Ironies continued:

> Mr. Wilkerson called attention to Mr. McBride being honored by the Superintendents of the Metropolitan School Districts who presented him with a watch and fifty silver dollars, representing approximately a dollar for each year of service. Mr. McBride received an ovation from those present. (5/22/62)

In a special session on Saturday, June 16th, the Board met with Dr. Spanman present. The item on the agenda was a discussion of the tender of offers for the land for the site of the Kensington Elementary School. Ten days later at the regular meeting, plans for an architect were tabled to await a later meeting. The Assistant Superintendent, Mr. Neal Unger, reported on a "pleasant meeting" with Dr. Spanman on June 16th and that the new Superintendent approved the current plans and asked Mr. Unger to continue his efforts.

The Board's conflicts continued to shadow its activities. Mr. Tompkins submitted a three page letter indicating he would file for another three year term, the following year (April, 1963), that he wanted "to refute certain untruths and rumors" being circulated about himself, and that he "unequivocally" was not running for higher political office.

Similarly, the press of the regional and state politics continued. The Metropolitan Superintendents Organization had commissioned the School of Education of City University to prepare a study of School District Reorganization. A digest of its report was appended to the Board minutes. The reports' objectives for reorganization focused on:

1) high quality programs
2) equalization of educational opportunity (economic) to an acceptable level
3) prudent expenditure of public funds

The input-output analysis put together various combinations of district size, economic resources, and coordination of special services. "Resolutions" of a "final" sort were not achieved then. And, as we shall see later, district organization and reorganization is one of those political problems which are never solved finally, for changes have been in the air since the turn of the century and continue until today, where size and economic differences as issues have been replaced by issues of racial equity.

2.3 Ending Milford's Early History and Foreshadowing the Later History

The Spanman Era was to last but four years, 1962-1966, including one year for a leave of absence. Dr. Spanman was Superintendent when the innovative Kensington School was built, staffed, and opened. The first year in the life of the school has been described and analyzed in detail in Anatomy of Educational innovation, An Organizational Analysis of an Element School (Smith and Keith, 1971). The Spanman story intertwines with the story of Ronald George, his successor as Superintendent, 1966 to the present. The details of those stories demand telling in their own right as well as telling as explanatory context for the changes in the school during its fifteen year existence. Essentially we have reported on the tangle of administrative succession. McBride, Spanman, and George were all involved, the latter in ways not clear at the time. But a tangle it was. Further, a complex context, partly moving under its own dynamics, occurred as well. Some of the elements of that context had been around for years. Some of it we tried to pattern and organize for the reader in the form of stories with multiple strands.[4] Mostly these strands and stories stayed close to how they were perceived or might have been perceived by the participants engaged in the day to day action. Earlier we distanced ourselves a bit and looked to some patterns and regularities which might be relevant to individuals and groups involved with communities and school districts in other times and places. Those generalizations were in the form of a "Summary, Conclusions, and Implications" statement. Now, we continue the narrative as we turn to the Spanman era.

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[4] These events and interpretations are the heart of Volume I, Chronicling the Milford District.

3. SPANMAN BECOMES SUPERINTENDENT

3.1 The Beginning of 1962-63

As we recounted earlier, a new era began in the Milford School District in the Summer of 1962. Dr. Steven Spanman was now Superintendent. He had not arrived for the July School Board meeting. Business was attended to as usual with Mr. Fairfax representing the administration. Messers. Baskin, Osborn, Quigley, Tompkins, and Wilkerson were present. Mr. Henderson was on vacation. The only directives to Dr. Spanman noted in the Board minutes concerned enrollment. Dr. Spanman was to contact the Superintendent of the Catholic Diocesan Schools to:

> ...ascertain the enrollment plans in the elementary schools for the next three years, as it would affect the Milford School District. (7/24/62)

and to:

> ...to submit a complete report and recommendations on the projected enrollment patterns and the area need for school building programs. (7/24/62)

This, too, passed unananimously. What was to become the Kensington School was in the offing.

A minute existed on the purchasing of lots for a building site. A letter from a local architectural firm, Marland and Enright, which had built the Hillside School, indicated their desire to design any new schools, possibly adapting an existing plan.

3.2 The First Board Meeting

The new Superintendent was present at the August 28th meeting. The agenda was long and the minutes were full of items carrying the phrase "as recommended by the Superintendent." Each item passed unanimously. Perhaps, our knowledge of Spanman clouded our views, but we believe anyone reading the minutes would come away with a feeling that an active, take charge individual was the new incumbent in the Superintendent position. The Superintendent's mimeographed agenda was now enclosed with the minutes "for purposes of reference." Twenty-six items were elaborated in the 23 page, typed single space, statement. Our intent is to explore this first meeting in some detail for it seems to capture much of Spanman's personality, perspective, and administrative style.

The Content of the Agenda

Item by item, the content varied in importance and breadth of impact. Item one dealt with a long standing inequity in Suburban County's tax rate. The Board was urged to go on record in support of the attempt for equalization. Milford, as one of the larger and less wealthy districts, would profit thereby. With his recommendation, Spanman moved directly into a major issue in Suburban County, equalization of resources for the schools. Beyond the content itself, we are left with an image of Spanman's ability as a "quick study." During our investigation, casual conversations and interviews with Central Office personnel, both professional and non professional, reveal perceptions such as "brilliant" and "imaginative."

Item two dealt with the "Organization of the Administrative and Supervisory Staff." The assistant superintendent and business officials who were reporting directly to the Board since the McBride conflict, were now to report to the Superintendent. Illustratively:

> 2.2 All recommendations and formal communications to the Board of Education will be made through the Superintendent.
>
> 2.3 State reports and other official communications from the school district, including press releases, will go out over the Superintendent's signature.

The concerns for rethinking the district's organizational structure led to a concluding recommendation:

> ...authorize the central staff to examine critically the present organizational structure to determine whether it fulfills the needs of the school system and to make suggestions for the improvement and development of its structure.

For all the noises about "democracy" in the Kensington School, and that was a real and important issue (See Anatomy, Chapter 8, pp235-278), Spanman's action at the district level left it very clear that he was to be the center of power and communication. Further, organizational structure of the district had been a problem plaguing Mr. McBride, the prior Superintendent, in his major quarrels with the two Board Presidents, Mr. Lewis in the early 1950's and Mr. Tompkins in the early 1960's. The main lines were now clear in reporting to Spanman. Other pieces of possible change would be studied and reported on by the Central Office staff, always through him.

Item three requested authorization for the hiring of a "communications secretary." This was part of a larger effort to have a professional educator responsible as Director of Communications:

> In the opinion of the staff, communication is one of the most important aspects of administration. The quality of the program depends greatly upon a school district's ability to communicate with its own members as well as with its patrons and interested citizens.

An incumbent for the secretarial position, Mrs. Virginia Fillmore was named and approved. Her story will flow into broader district events for later she became secretary to the Superintendent and to the Board, probably the most important non professional staff position in the district, and remains in that position to the present.

Item four, Invitation Extended to Metropolitan Superintendent's Association for the Fall meeting to be held at the new Milford Junior High School. "This item is for information", so read the minutes. Spanman seems to be testing the local superintendency waters. They are invited to his turf and to see Milford's new Junior High School. At a minimum the infereuce is that he moves quickly in contacts with his peers.

Item five, Amendments to Transportation Policy Recommendation, eliminated a controversial $1.00 surcharge over the $36.00 bus fee for students who lived less than a mile from school. Little items become big issues on occasion. Transportation has been one of those never ending sore spots in the district for three decades. Eliminating the dollar fee seemed an attempt to ease one of those "little" problems. As we discovered earlier, a school district engages in many tasks beyond or subsidiary to its central educational functions. Transportation is like insurance, cafeterias, maintenance, and leaking roofs, problems which never really get solved but require continuing, steady attention. More than some of the others, it contained an important aspect of impinging directly and daily upon the patrons.

Item six responded to the request of a parent to have his son admitted to first grade. The problem involved an October 12th birthdate; school policy required the child to be six on or before September 15th. The extenuating circumstances were a move from another community where the child had had six months of nursery school, a full year of kindergarten, and a recommendation for promotion to first grade. The Superintendent recommended that the parents request be denied. These realities contrast sharply with the idealism later articulated at Kensington in its ultimate goals of individualization as to entrance, graduation, hours of daily attendance, and days of yearly attendance.

Item seven reported on the Summer Instrumental Music program which served 200 youngsters and for the second year showed a slight financial balance for the district. As we have indicated, music has been a major part of Milford's curriculum from the beginnings of the District.

Item eight reported on a meeting between Spanman and the Superintendent of the Archdiocesan Schools, "the meeting was very profitable and beneficial." The Milford community has always had a large parochial population. At a prior meeting of the Board, they had directed the Superintendent to inquire regarding enrollment projections. He responded immediately.

Item nine was a request by the Superintendent to permit his acceptance of an invitation to make an audio visual presentation, at no expense to the district, to a seminar of "...a most interesting and especialy well-informed cross section of military, academic, governmental, and industrial personnel." Dr. Spanman, as we will see, is both an engaging lecturer and a proponent of technology in the schools. National exposure was a part of his continuing agenda. Cosmopolitanism was part of his style. Technological innovations were part of the promise of education's future.

Item ten, Consultant Services of the Architectual Design Institute (ADI) plays directly into what will become the Kensington School and extends our understanding of the organizational and administrative roots of educational innovation; consequently, we reproduce verbatim the several paragraphs in the agenda:

> Dr. James Holland, Director of the Architectual Design Institute, has indicated that he and his staff are interested in giving assistance in school planning for the Milford School District. The cost to the district for such services would be $2000 which would include consultant fees, travel, lodging, etc. The amount paid by the school district would be supplemented in the sum of $7,000 which would result from a grant from the Olds Foundation. The $2,000 contributed by the Milford School District would allow for the necessary consultants as well as pay a portion of the cost of the whole project. This amount is consistent with that charged to other school systems by the Architectual Design Institute. No direct payment to any individual working on a project would be made by the Milford School District as the ADI would make payments out of its funds for all travel and lodging as well as for publication of educational specifications or other reports.
>
> *The Architectual Design Institute is interested in school systems searching for new knowledge and wishes to leave to others who have more money (like the federal government) to help people who have no ideas. Many new ideas are currently under investigation by the District's Curriculum Study.*
>
> (Our Italics)

> In terms of actual building cost, the ADI consultants would be a saving. As a more important consideration, such consultant assistance would enable the administration and staff to design the facilities that would reflect the educational needs of the school district. At present, the school system has indicated assistance by the Architectual Design Institute would enable the staff to define more precisely and efficiently those programs already under consideration by the Milford School District. Of tremendous importance, such consultant service would equip our staff with valid criteria upon which to make sound evaluation of our existing and proposed programs.
>
> The Architectual Design Institute would provide the much desired consultant services for assisting the staff in determining the educational specifications from which the most efficient architectual plans could be developed for the proposed Kensington Elementary School.
>
> Recommendation: It is recommended to the Board of Education by the Central Staff that the consultant services of the Architectual Design Institute be secured at a cost to the district of $2,000.

As with all the recommendations, this, too, passed unanimously. The new Superintendent was moving the district into contact with national organizations, resources, and ideas. Our italicized paragraph presents an item suggesting hypotheses of both an elitism and an anti federal government perspective.

Item eleven, Progress on the Language Laboratory seems to carry multiple messages as well. It, too, is reproduced verbatim:

> Upon their return from vacation during the first week of August, members of the administrative staff were greatly disappointed that very little work had been done on the Language Laboratory during the month of July. Vacation, an accident to one of the workers, and the lack of an essential part were the reasons given by the company. The Superintendent of Schools, the Supervising Principal of Secondary Education, and the Coordinator of Curriculum Research were in repeated telephone conversations with the company. Each time, the company gave assurance that the installation would be completed during the following week. However, each time a new deadline approached, very little progress was apparent.

> In a letter dated August 20, the Superintendent of Schools informed National Technology Corporation that, if they could not give written confirmation of the installation date, the School District would be reluctant to implement the program after August 27. In response, a representative of National Technology Corporation met with members of the administrative staff and informed them that the earliest possible completion date would be September 4. The company was again informed of the school district's position. After a phone conversation with his general manager, the company representative assured the school district that the laboratory would be completed no later than August 27. The administrators felt that this was a satisfactory completion date as it would still allow four days for the teachers to conduct their scheduled workshop.
>
> Friday, August 24, four workers renewed the progress on the Laboratory. They were scheduled to continue all day Saturday and Sunday to complete the installation by the August 27 date.

"A shaker and a mover" is another label which has remained as part of Spanman's reputation with Milford school personnel. Lurking behind that was a sense of efficacy, a view that the education world was malleable through his efforts.[5]

Item twelve dealt with Inservice Programs and indicated that scheduling was underway for the programs outlined in the June Board meeting. Shortly, the pattern of these will appear as the specific items are listed and then actualized.

Items thirteen and fourteen were one line acknowledgements of the Treasurer's Report and the Payment of Bills. Item fifteen requested five administrators be expensed to the State Meeting of Secondary School Principals. At their best, professional meetings are a means of peer education—usually in pleasant circumstances and surroundings. Spanman was involved personally and expected his Board, his administrative staff and his teachers to be involved. Such education was expensive. In this instance, the principals were to travel with District Funds. The Board, on this occasion approved.

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[5] We find ourselves reaching beyond the presented data for inferences related to other conversations, observations, and experiences. We insert them along the way to elaborate the evolving profile.

Item sixteen, Population Building Study Recommended, raised the issues of long term planning, an analysis of current facilities and their adequacy, population projections and additional space, and curriculum evaluation and development regarding the instructional program. This large scale effort also provided for the involvement of the former Superintendent who was now a senior consultant:

> It is further recommended that Mr. McBride be appointed to serve as coordinator of the study, reporting directly to and responsible to the Superintendent of Schools.

The activities and treatment of a prior superintendent who had been relieved of his responsibilities is no mean problem. In the eyes of most observers, Spanman had restored some of the dignity and respect due to McBride.

Item seventeen involved a continuation of a Depository Agreement with a local Bank and Trust Company.

Item eighteen, Employment of Architect and nineteen and twenty on school site for Kensington fall together. The parcels of land were being acculumated lot by lot. The move toward the selection of the architect was a part of a larger strategy:

> Considerable amount of educational planning must be done by the administrative and supervisory staff before an architect is engaged to design the building for the Kensington

> Elementary School. It is the opinion of the staff that obtaining the services of an architect as a first step toward the acquisition of a new building is a mistake. An architect should be engaged only after the staff and the Board know exactly what educational program it wishes to offer the children and what spaces are needed to house the program. It is at this point that the talents of an architect can be utilized most advantageously. The more information the architect is given in the form of educational specifications, the better job he can do toward satisfying the educational needs of the pupils served by the school. The Architectual Design Institute (assuming approval of the recommendation submitted in Item ten) will assist the staff in determining the educational specifications.

The Superintendent presented an explicit procedure for selecting an architect--publicizing the District's intent, initial screening by administrative staff, final evaluation and selection by the Board. Almost for the first time, education, the curriculum, the goals, and the content were to be taken as problematic. Prior to this an unquestioned consensus seemed to exist as conventional wisdom in the Milford community. Buildings followed "naturally" upon that wisdom. In our effort to understand innovation and change, the more we have been struck with the importance "of what one makes problematic."

Item twenty-one involved the distribution of an Audit Report which would be discussed at the next meeting. Item twenty-two involved Personnel: three resignations, eight elections, six contract changes (e.g. finished M.A.'s), and announcement of six remaining vacancies. Item twenty-three reported on a superintendent's meeting with the State Commissioner of Education.

Item twenty-four dealt with "Real Estate Development: Implications for Future School Planning." Discussion was specifically on the Islington Apartments. Already 32 elementary age pupils are in 80 rented apartments, 190 units are completed, another 30 will be ready by Christmas, and 440 will be the final total. A survey of ten developers indicate that 702 additional school age youngsters will appear.

Item twenty-five presented a safety engineer's report and Item twenty-six described the Williams School's Landscaping Plans using $500 raised at last year's "Fun Fare." The Williams School Committee had altered its original plans somewhat, because of expenses. The Superintendent's recommendation was simple:

> It is recommended that the Williams School PTA and Mother's Club alternate plans for landscaping be approved.

The Structure of the Agenda

One doesn't have to be a McLuhan fan to appreciate that much of the message is in the medium. A half dozen items accent the perspective. First, the materials were organized and well written. Each point was made in a topic sentence or short paragraph. The next paragraph or two spelled out the sub issues involved. In an important sense, one might infer that the Superintendent was educating his Board with clear, concise, well reasoned items.

Second, each item culminated in recommendations. The Board was to go on record to take quite specific action. Discussions were background reasons and arguments. They were not idle chatter. They led to actions which were to improve the education of the youngsters of Milford. Concepts such as practical reasoning and theory of action spring out at the reader.

Third, the comprehensiveness of the agenda, the quantity of issues, and the detail were overwhelming. To disagree would take considerable study, strength of character, and intellect. The Superintendent was creating an image of strength and power, a man who knew what he wanted and how to get it

Fourth, the Superintendent was opening up relationships with the many facets, positions, and organizations of his world. These include the other superintendents, the archdiocesan schools, and national corporations supplying new educational technology. He was going to be centrally involved. And that's the position from which things get done.

Fifth, those social scientists who focus on interaction clearly would discern that the origin or initiation of interaction clearly had an exemplar in Spanman. Clearly he was in charge of administration within the District.

Antecedents of the Meeting

But full agendas such as the one of August 1962 do not arise from the ether. Rather, as in the performance of a symphony, they are orchestrated and involve considerable effort. Two letters from the President and Director of Programs of ADI indicate a bit about antecedent or "how-to-do-it" aspects of the meeting. The President's letter is dated June 19th, before Spanman arrived in Milford.

Insert Figure 2 About Here

Dear Steven:

Bill Hastings called me a few days ago to tell me the good news of your move to Milford. He described it as a first rate system.

I indicated as far as ADI is concerned, we leave the choice of communities in which he works entirely up to him. He was worried about the distance but I told him to disregard distance if the idea being pursued is sufficiently significant. As an Institute we are *interested in new knowledge, and leave to others who have more money (like the Federal Government) to help people who have no ideas*.
(Our Italics)

From meeting you in Atlantic City, I would guess that Milford, with you as Superintendent, would not be classified in the latter category.

With every good wish for your new administration.

Cordially,

Figure 2: Letter from ADI President

Prior to coming to Milford, Spanman was part of a network out of Eastern University. People who knew people had put his name on the short list for the Milford superintendency. In addition, we now see that he knows people who know people, people who are doing things, and people who want to do things. The leaders of the Olds Foundation and the Architectual Design Institute (ADI) are of that order. They seem entreprenurial, flexible in agendas toward their goals, and a bit on the elitist side. A tenor of excitement in the air pervades the letter and the assumptions behind the stated items. Spanman's quoting in his agenda the pungent line on "significant ideas" versus "government money" suggests that he has a talent for playing the game.

A July 11th letter from the ADI Director of Programs began this way:

> It was nice to hear from you and to learn of your continued interest in the possibility of us giving some assistance in school planning. We have talked with Jack Hullings and found that he was very anxious to get someone started in Midwest since no one had asked for any help from there.

He went on to spell out the agreements of $2,000 and $7,000 and with his arrangements which Spanman had quoted verbatim into his Board agenda item. The concluding paragraph suggested the longer reach of the waltz:

> I would like to add too, that we would like very much to continue to work with you on a continuing basis in the event we reach an agreement for the first year's services.

The commitments while small in dollar amounts were large in two ways. Spanman, the Milford District, and ultimately, the Kensington School was to be ADI's exemplar in Midwest State and the Central Region of the country. Second, the initial contract was not only just that but it was also a gambit for a continuing relationship beyond the first year. Each side was investing tentatively with longer term options.

Conclusion

A detailed presentation of the agenda of a single Board meeting invites a consideration of pros and cons. The totality of a single meeting conveys just that, a totality. Second, the reader, and the Board as well, is capturing a first look at the Superintendent in action. Primacy effects in perception and attitude formation have earned a place in many summaries of research. Third, and as later data will document, the first meeting is not a atypical sample of Spanman in action. As a side show barker or TV commentator might say, "What you see is what you got, and what you got is what you bought." Spanman has a large agenda, he knows what he wants, he tried with considerable care with his Board to persuade-through-education.

3.3 The Year Continues

Planning and Doing

Visionaries are sometimes accused of missing the steps between the bottom and top of ladders or between their present location and the vistas on the horizon. Spanman didn't have that problem--at least initially. A tentative program for curriculum presentations to the Board was submitted and approved at the September meeting. Figure 3 suggests the scope and sequence of that agenda. A similar agenda for Inservice Teacher Education Programs, described in Figure 4, appeared also. Not only were children to be educated but so, too, were Board members and teachers.

Insert Figures 3 and 4 About Here

The Board presentations were all by Milford teachers. The workshop courses and consultancies were all by individuals outside the district. Some were for graduate credit, others for local inservice credit.

In September the Board approved:

> Notice was given that the Superintendent has been extended an invitation to membership on a national educational organization Conference Planning Committee. (9/62)

A motion supporting this activity was made, recorded, and approved unanimously by the Board. In addition, "central staff responsible for curriculum improvement and development" were expensed to the state ASCD meeting. Similarly, released time was provided teachers and guidance counselors for attendance at state meetings. The latter was not unusual. The image is that everything and everyone is on the move.

The upper echelons of the Central Office staff were in place immediately as indicated on the letterhead of district stationary. In effect, the staff reorganization was accomplished immediately. Figure 5 presents these.

Insert Figure 5 About Here

The curriculum presentations, entitled Curriculum Orientation Series seemed, at least in their outline and titles of presentations,

September	Mathematical Experience
October	The Principals Role as Instructional Leaders
November	Social Experience: the Study of Man
December	Guiding Life in the School
January	Educational Specifications: Kensington School
February	Evaluation of District Programs
March	Creative Experiences
April	Scientific Experiences: Developing Scientific Concepts
May	Vocational Experiences
June	Evaluating Change in Children and Youth

Figure 3: Tentative Program for Board Curriculum Meetings—1962-63

1. Foreign Language
2. Reading in Elementary
3. Reading in Secondary
4. Reading in Secondary
5. Reading Center
6. Mathematics, Secondary
7. Mathematics, Secondary
8. Library in the Elementary
9. Conservation
10. Art
11. Music: Instrumental Workshop
12. Voice Pedagogy

Figure 4: Inservice Teacher Education Programs

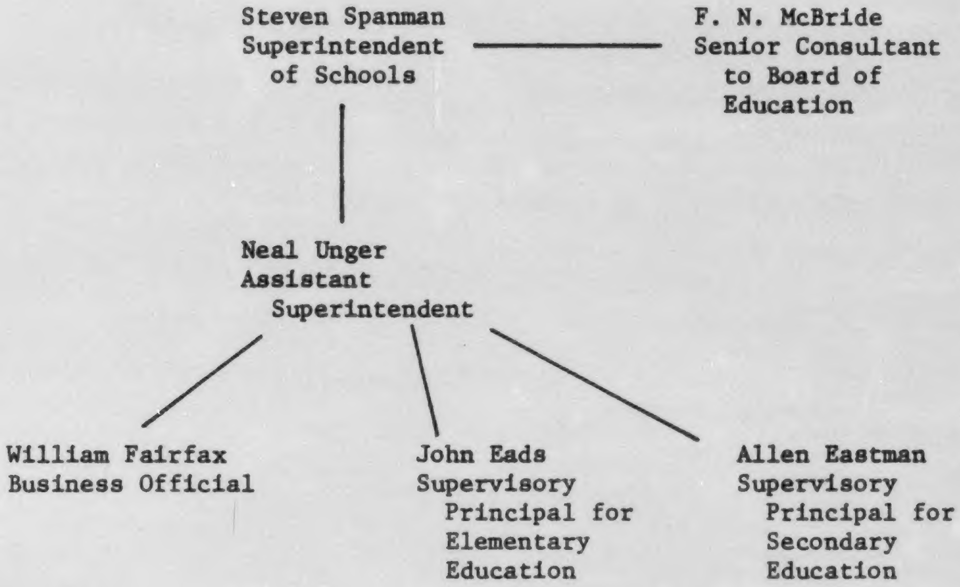
Steven Spanman
Superintendent of Schools
F. N. McBride
Senior Consultant to Board of Education
Neal Unger
Assistant Superintendent
William Fairfax
Business Official
John Eads
Supervisory Principal for Elementary Education
Allen Eastman
Supervisory Principal for Secondary Education

Figure 5: Central Office Staff, September, 1962

something a little different. For instance the social studies program in October was listed this way, as presented in Figure 6.

Insert Figure 6 About Here

This outline, we would contend, is an action or reform oriented way of reporting. The "general overview of the present curriculum" gives the status quo proponents a chance to state their case. The "problems inherent in the present curriculum" gives the critics their day. The "promising practices and proposals" has a double edged cut--ideas and practices, abstract and concrete manifestations. "Promising" suggests the lure of the tentative and the hopeful. And, finally, the Board and interested community patrons have their day, to raise questions and to comment from whatever perspectives they care to raise and share.

It seems important to note also that while we have focused our account of 1961-62 on the Superintendent's initiatives and shortly on issues related to building the Kensington School, life went on in the schools. For instance discussions, legal opinions, and actions occurred on:

1) bus stops and transporting youngsters
2) possible shared time in shop classes for parochial youngsters
3) Catholic school enrollments and possible "overflow"
4) inquiry by Nussbaum, a social studies teacher, on his dismissal in an earlier year
5) school surveys by the state department and City University
6) special education cases
7) vote on equalization of taxes in Suburban County
8) expensing principals, counselors, and teachers to special meetings

I General Overview of Present Curriculum
II Problems Inherent in Present Curriculum
III Promising Practices and Proposals
  A. Incidental Teaching (Elementary)
  B. Modified Platoon School (Elementary)
  C. Correlated Studies (Junior High School)
  D. Cooperative Teaching (High School)
  E. Instruction on Totalitarian Ideology
IV Question Period—Members of Board of Education and Audience

Figure 6: Format for Curriculum Presentations to the Board

9) the Board reaffirmed its opposition to Federal Aid to Education and wrote to its congressmen and senators
10) adding fire plugs at two elementary schools
11) civil defense classes

The busy agenda continued--as always.

Personnel Policies and Practices

Among the various policies discussed in the Autumn of 1962, one of the most far reaching involved "selection of personnel." In the Superintendent's agenda it was stated this way:

> Employees of the school district shall be appointed only upon the recommendation of the Superintendent. Should a person nominated by the Superintendent be rejected by the Board, it shall be the duty of the Superintendent to make another nomination.
>
> It shall be the duty of the Superintendent of Schools to see that persons nominated for employment shall meet all qualifications established by law and by the Board for the type of position for which nomination is made. (12/11/61)

Historians of Milford, and presumably other districts as well, will see this as a long jump from the early days when the Board recruited, interviewed, and elected teachers at their own initiative. Now the Superintendent possessed this initiative. The bureaucratic details, e.g. delegation and specific procedures, were spelled out in a 12 page document.

Shortly thereafter a multiple state recruiting program was implemented:

> One of the factors in the development of a fine teaching staff in the Milford School District has been the active teacher recruitment program followed during the past year. Again this year, a rather extensive recruiting program has been established. Campuses of colleges and universities in nine states

> will be visited during the next four months in an attempt to continue to attract the best teachers available to the district.
> (1/11/63)

Throughout the first year the Board received announcements of the Superintendent's national activities as speaker, consultant, and active role-player in professional organizations. Consistently they supported these activities with released time away from the district, sometimes they contributed expenses as well. At AASA, he chaired one program and was panelist on a second. The Board expensed him and two members to the annual meeting. The Superintendent modeled the active national stance. On occasion he educated his Board by taking them along.

The record contains also numerous items: announcements, letters, requests, and thank you notes from personnel at all levels of the professional staff regarding similar opportunities at local, state, and national levels. One paragraph from a teacher's letter illustrates the sentiments:

> I wish to express appreciation for making it possible for me to attend the Seminar on Asia at State University from October 28-30, 1962. The experiences gained and information received were most interesting to me and it is my hope that much of this valuable information can be disseminated to my fellow teachers....
> (1/22/63)

The spillover of stimulation and reinforcement flowed in multiple directions.

Internally a major shift occurred in the Central Office staff. Mr. Fairfax, the Business Official, upon the recommendation of the Superintendent, was "reassigned from his present duties to the substitute teacher pool, effective immediately." Mr. Ranson replaced him as "Administrative Assistant for Business Services." The Board gave its approval unanimously.

The Superintendent seemed to be using the array of options available to his position in moving the district internally. First, he adjusted the bureaucratic conditions, to use a phrase of Blau's (1956) as in reorganizing the internal arrangements of who reports to whom and clarifying policy. Second, he educated everyone in the system--himself, the Board, the Central Office staff, the principals, and teachers, Third, he selected, both hiring and firing, key personnel. Playing those strands in harmony seems a very sophisticated set of administrative skills.

Ending the First Year

The Milford District, as we recounted in detail in Volume I, had received various kinds of Federal Aid, especially for buildings since the mid 1930's. It's ambivalance toward that help also has been recorded. Here we mention just once again the recurring aspects of the controversy in American education and politics.

> Mr. Henderson read a letter from Senator Townsend of Midwest State in response to a letter sent to him earlier by the Secretary of the Board of Education relative to the Board's position of being opposed to expansion of Federal Aid. The Board agreed that the Secretary write a second letter to Senator Townsend to clarify his interpretation that the Board is opposed to *all* Federal Aid to Education.
> (Italics in Original) (3/12/63)

Milford seemed opposed in principle and argued against such aid. However, when it was part of the law, they seemed implicitly to argue for receiving their fair share.

The Spring of 1963 juxtaposed ironically several events which enphasize the human dimensions of the educational enterprise. Mr. McBride, the long term Superintendent who was ousted in a bitter fight and who served out the remaining two years of his contract as a Senior Consultant to the district, received a testamonial dinner in March. Shortly thereafter, on Superintendent Spanman's recommendation, Mr. McBride was granted a leave of absence with pay for the last three months of his contract. Second, in March the Board moved and passed unanimously a Certification of Appreciation to Mr. Quigley, a Board member for 12 years, for his service to the District. The president of the Board was Mr. Tompkins, a long term opponent of his. Superintendent Spanman received a new three year contract on a unanimous vote. A week later, Mr. Tompkins, the only incumbent running for re-election was defeated at the polls. Politically, one of Spanman's opponents retired, one of his supporters lost at the polls. Consensus and unanimity in the community and within the Board seemed not a part of the scene.

The new Superintendent continued to lecture at national educational meetings and he continued to publish articles in educational journals on such topics as:

> The Superintendent's Concern for Curriculum and Instruction
> New Directions for Elementary Education

Meetings held in the local metropolitan area provided opportunities to bring visitors to the district, this time for a view of the recently completed but award winning high school building.

The continuing energy being poured into the District by the Superintendent and staff can be seen in these other activities recorded in considerable detail in the minutes and agendas:

1) Auditing procedures clarified and stabilized
2) Redoing of the Insurance Committee
3) Formalization of policy into a code book

The latter was built around six "policy study committees":

1) Community-School Relations
2) Organizations and Administrators
3) School Finance and Business Management
4) Staff Personnel
5) Pupil Personnel
6) Instruction and Curriculum

These committees met for several years. They labored valiantly. The product was a large blue covered, looseleaf policy handbook. It remains in the district to this day, with some regular updating. In some ways, it might be argued that this was one of Spanman's most important and lasting innovations. It will return to our story and analysis at several points.

Proposals for the first summer elementary school also appeared. It's functions were simple but classic:

1) Opportunities for participation in areas of interest (enrollment)
2) Opportunities for strengthening basic skills such as reading, listening, writing, and speaking (5/14/63)

Insofar as individual differences among youngsters is a major reality, extending the more able and raising the minimum competencies of the less able seems an important set of educational alternatives.

3.4 The Beginning Conceptualization of Spanman's Role as Superintendent

Introduction: the Clusters

It seems almost unfair and inaccurate to speak of "the beginning conceptualization..." regarding Steven Spanman. Inaccurate because we have known him fifteen years and worked with him in the original study, Anatomy of Educational Innovation. Unfair, especially vis a vis prior superintendents Briggs, Grey, and McBride because we knew them only second hand—through Board minutes, other documents, and a few retrospective interviews. With Spanman we have direct knowledge as well as several hours of interview regarding his perspective. But it's been to the Board minutes we have returned to ground initially our images and our account. From these we accent his proactive style, his cosmopolitanism, his seeking of resources, his role as imaginative educator, his fascination with technology and his ability as a practical reasoner.

The Proactive-Reactive Dimension

The image we are trying for here involves such words as originating, initiating, leading out, taking charge. The contrast with reactive suggests making the world fit one's own categories, one's own needs, one's own purposes rather than letting the world pose the problems, the definitions, and the solutions. Part of our proactive conception of Spanman is captured in the phrase "making things happen." Reading his Board "agendas" from month to month captures the evolution of problems, analyses, and progressive, sequential action alternatives. Each one moves a step or two beyond the one before.

In Figure 7 we suggest some of the antecedents and consequences of the proactive stance. The cluster of characteristics which seem to describe Superintendent Spanman and which lurk behind the proactive role are elements of temperament, skill, and point of view. His high energy is reflected in comments by everyone we talked to. He started early in the morning, had a late afternoon relief secretary, and often dictated memo's late at night. Some thought he required only five or six hours of sleep. Personal confidence or efficacy, as it is sometimes called now, exuded from the man. His professional life and rapid career rise, about which we'll talk later, provided personal testimony. Many in the district saw him as wrongly placed in Milford, a man on the move, who would not stay long, who had a bigger professional agenda in mind. Be that as it may, while in Milford he devoted his talents to implementing his conception of excellence in schooling. Coupled with this point of view was an inexhaustible store of ideas; every problem had multiple facets, multiple alternatives, and multiple solutions. His verbal facility and persuasive skills are well caught in the homily, "He could talk the birds out of the trees."

Insert Figure 7 About Here

The consequences we pinpoint here are simple. The intensity of work schedules he imposed on himself and others were severe. "You could see him coming, guess the size of the task, and know he would want it yesterday" is a paraphrase of a number of comments. Increased time and

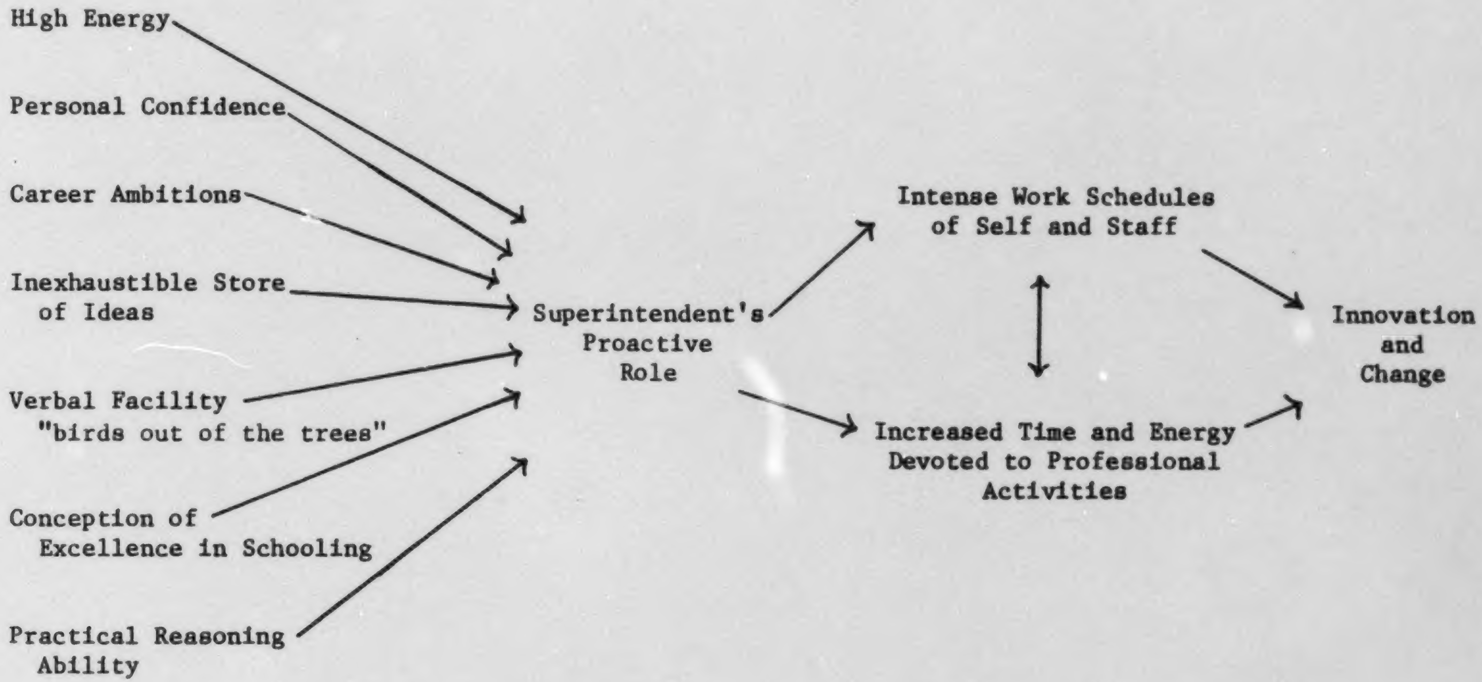
High Energy
Personal Confidence
Career Ambitions
Inexhaustible Store of Ideas
Verbal Facility "birds out of the trees"
Conception of Excellence in Schooling
Practical Reasoning Ability
Superintendent's Proactive Role
Intense Work Schedules of Self and Staff
Increased Time and Energy Devoted to Professional Activities
Innovation and Change

Figure 7: Antecedents and Consequences of Spanman's Proactive Stance

energy on professional tasks appeared everywhere in the system. Innovations occurred and the district changed. The proactive stance pervaded his relationships with everyone.

Pursuer of Resources

Spanman had a clear sense that new or additional work always required additional resources. He also had an array of possible institutions to be tapped for those resources. Further he seemed to have a flair for the game of a little here and a little there and leveraging a small amount from one place to gain more from a second or third. Further he seemed quite creative in staying in the spirit of the funds to make other things happen. For example, ADI monies to initiate travel across the state to the Thompson built buildings were then supplemented by Board monies. Similarly he piggy-backed on lecture funds with Board funds to solicit additional funds for the building project. Figure 8 sketches the context of this element of his activities.

Insert Figure 8 About Here

Cosmopolitanism

As we looked to the antecedents of "obtaining increased resources", a view of his proactive role and his personal efficacy reappeared. In addition, we perceived a dimension of "cosmopolitanism". This seemed a mix of knowing places to go, knowing people when he got there, and meeting new people along the way. Long before Merton (1957) and Gouldner (1961) attacked the problem of cosmopolitanism, Webster defined the concept simply: "Belonging to all the world; not local." The several

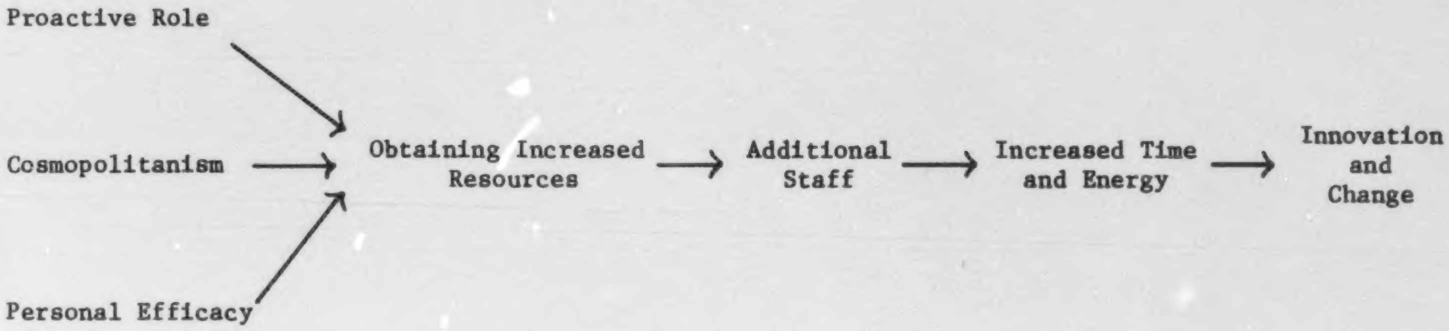
Proactive Role
Cosmopolitanism
Personal Efficacy
Obtaining Increased Resources
Additional Staff
Increased Time and Energy
Innovation and Change

Figure 8: Antecedents and Consequences of Increased Resources

letters attached to the minutes captured that flavor. The involvement outside the Milford District per se occurred at every level. He invited the county superintendents to Milford; he attended and frequently was on the program at state and national educational meetings. He wandered afield with business, government, and military groups and representatives. He was actively involved with national foundations and with university professors from across the country. The contrasts in the flavor of his thinking and action from that of his prececessor McBride, who was very much of a localist, was sharp and clear. As we shall see, it also contrasts with his successor, Dr. George.

Imaginative Educator

Here the accent lies on both concepts--imaginative and educator. The most telling piece of evidence was his approach to the problem of new buildings. The population data indicated that the district was continuing to expand at the elementary level. The Catholic parochial school plans had been tested initially with a conversation with the Superintendent. A prior architect pressed for continuation of their relationship. Spanman moved simply but directly with the premise--the building must reflect the kind of educational programs we want for our children. We need to tackle that problem first.

Reading Spanman's "agendas" for the Board meetings is like listening to and talking with a good teacher. Each lesson has a point, a cognitive context to engage the audience intellectually, and a persuasive appeal to action. An earlier cited paragraph regarding the employment of an architect captures some of this:

> One of the most important tasks of the Board of Education in constructing a new building is the selection of an architect. After the Board of Education and the school staff have decided what they want in terms of spaces, sizes, relationships of spaces, and other important features of the proposed school, it is the architect who transforms all of these ideas into a functional, attractive, economical, easily maintained, and durable building. (9/25/62)

Spanman seemed to have an unusual capacity to see and communicate drama in human events. Upon his return from an AASA convention his report, submitted under the signatures of the two Board members began with this introduction:

> In the five days of this convention representatives of the Board of Education had opportunities to take part in developing new ideas and charting the course for new directions in education in this community. For 17 hours each day doors were open to new knowledge, new insights, and inspirations. There were debates, dialogues, seminars, workshops, reports, lectures, roundtables, panels, interviews, demonstrations, and exhibits. Supplementing these were a closed circuit television schedule of more than 125 programs.
>
> Participation in this greatest of all conventions was an estimable value to the representatives. Without a doubt, the participation will bring inspiration, stimulation, and resourcefulness in making the program in the Milford School District as good as the best that any parent wants for his child. (2/12/63)

That was AASA that year! More specific items related to the space age, and its implications for education, the relations between a Board and its Superintendent, the elusiveness of teacher competency, the nature and hope of ungraded elementary schools, architectural exhibits and competitions. These all were items of interest to him and his conception of education. That being true, one might argue, his Board should know about them, understand them, and become committed to them as well.

Fascination with Technology

From overhead projectors to closed circuit T.V. to computers, Spanman possessed a deep and continuing fascination with the promise of technology and a faith in the American entreprenurial and business community. In the report on the AASA meetings of 1963, cited in more detail earlier these paragraphs appear as Section XI Exhibits:

> During the course of the convention, school representatives were privileged to spend many hours examining the fruits of the initiative, ingenuity, and resourcefulness of American business firms. To learn first hand of the vast array of resources available for up-grading curriculum and instruction. Some 530 exhibitors presented their wares in more than five acres of display space.
>
> Not only did the representatives benefit from products already on display; they benefited also from the discussions between themselves and manufacturers concerning new products that are required for continuing progress in every facet of the ongoing programs in the district.
>
> Among the exhibits to receive very careful and close examination in the great laboratory found among the exhibits were:
>
> 1) Teaching Machines
> 2) Equipment for Centralized Food Service
> 3) Closed Circuit Television Equipment
> 4) Moveable Partitions
> 5) Outdoor Seating
> 6) Thermal Control Units
> 7) School Furniture
> 8) Acoustical Floor Covering
> 9) Driver Training Products
> 10) Building Products
> 11) School Busses

A half dozen of these would be directly related to the new Kensington School.

We would also note again the potential of national conventions for influencing educational change and Spanman's continuing efforts to educate his Board.

Practical Reasoner

One of the issues lurking in our minds over the years has been the conception of practical reasoning. (Walker, 1971; Schwab, 1969; Gauthier, 1967; Dewey, 1933). Spanman seems to have been a practical reasoner par excellence. A few brief illustrations across several domains extends these ideas. In his agendas he seemed always to have specific goals in mind. Always there were things he wanted to do. Then he would talk all around the issue--reasons for wanting to do it, potential problems and difficulties, different ways of handling the main issue and the subsidiary ones--and finally all this would culminate in an action recommendation. At this point the Board would begin its deliberations.

In social situations, as we inferred from the minutes and our interviews we found ourselves reacting and noting several clusters of activities which seem part of practical reasoning. First, the kind of evidence he responded to was often direct observation of events and conversations with knowledgeable actors in those events. (Let's go talk to the architect and the Board members and administrators in a district or two who have one of his buildings.) Second, in reviewing and summarizing discussions there was always an accent on agreements which implied next steps. The conversations were always kept moving. Third, the discussions always were couched eventually in terms of specific concrete arrangements--dates, times, places, and individuals. The fuzziness of maybe, or later, or perhaps was not there.

A final illustration comes from his approach to curriculum problems. Typically the deliberations involved:

1) what are we doing now--in reading, math, etc.
2) what problems are we having
3) promising ideas and practices
4) how can we make them work to solve our problems

It was really the "promising ideas and practices" wording which caught our eye initially. That can be a cliche, but for Spanman it was a call to imagination, creativity, cosmopolitanism, enthusiasm, and making education better for the children in Milford's schools.

In some sense, Dewey may have said all this years ago in his abstracted steps in problem solving. Perhaps all we are doing is painting a picture indicating this is one view of practical reasoning from the position of superintendent with an incumbent who has a special flair for innovation and change.

Conclusion

Our profile of Spanman started from the minutes of the Board meetings and his elaborately stated agendas for those meetings. The first meeting, from which we quoted at length seemed prototypical and we used it that way. As we began to elaborate a more integrated view of the Superintendent we alluded to comments from our many chance conversations and interviews with staff who had worked with him, and briefly from our contacts with him over the decade and a half. Stated too briefly and summarily he was a proactive, cosmopolitan, and imaginative educator. In our view these are the elements lying behind innovation and change. As we shall see, they can be the antecedents of tragedy and the crystallization of alternative views of the good life and quality education. Several sorts of pluralism and politics will return to our story and force us into the multiple complexities of values, communities, and organizational structures and processes. For the moment though we are accenting the formidible or overpowering presence of Spanman and his definition of the superintendency.

4. THE REMAINING YEARS OF SPANMAN'S TENURE

4.1 Introduction

The detailed account of the first Board meeting set the tenor of Spanman's superintendency. The flow of his first year accented the high rate of activity, the scope and interests of the planning and the doing, and the attention to personnel development throughout the system. The creation of the Kensington School was an early and central part of his programs. The image that arose had a number of aspects cutting across his personality, his perspective, and his administrative style. Such descriptors as imaginative educator, proactive, cosmopolitan, and practical reasoner captured the essence of the man. These elements were to remain throughout his tenure. But Spanman was to remain only a short time. Now we return to the story of his next three years. Encased in that story is a further set of interpretations.

4.2 Stories and Interpretations

Year II: 1963-64

The Summer of '63 seemed quiet. The meetings were brief. The agenda items for the Board meetings seemed a flow of unanimity that kept the District wheels turning. In August, the Board created the "Citizens Advisory Committee of the Milford School District." The committee was to be conceived with the "building and educational needs" of the District and to have a membership of P.T.A. and Mother's Club presidents and other patrons after taking into consideration:

a. socio economic level
b. geography
c. age
d. supporters and advocates of the public schools
e. parents and older residents

In keeping with the Superintendent's ability to capsule large issues in succinct statements, sometimes almost slogans, the agenda contained this brief paragraph:

> Citizenship participation has evolved slowly over the past generation and has been represented by a changing attitude on the part of educators, described as "stay out--come and see--lets plan together." The professional staff recognizes the tremendous potential in cooperative planning with patrons. (8/27/63)

At the Superintendent's request the Board unanimously voted to continue the relationship between the Architectual Design Institute (ADI) and to contribute $2,500 for that purpose. At that same meeting (August) the proposed Board Policy Book became a reality. The Inservice program (begun before Spanman's arrival) was to continue for a third year. The list of consultants contained the names of several nationally prominent educationists identified with the "new elementary education"--individualized instruction, non gradedness, and team teaching.

William Fairfax, a long term administrator, quietly left the district "for another position."

For reasons not immediately apparent on the record, the Board reorganized itself, i.e. changed officers, upon a unanimous series of votes. Mr. Ludwig became President and Mr. Baskin became Vice President.

Following that a resolution with several "sweetness and light" whereas's concluded that the Board was the policy making body. The explicit wording was this:

> WHEREAS, The relationship between the Board of Education and the administrative staff of the Milford School District has been one of friendly good will and mutual respect, and
>
> WHEREAS, The Superintendent of Schools has been designated the responsibility for the execution of policies concerning the organization and administration, and
>
> WHEREAS, The Board of Education revised policies on August 27, 1963, clarifying the working relationship between the Board of Education and the administrative staff;
>
> THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That the Board of Education reconfirm its interest to serve as the policy making body of the Milford School District and to delegate the execution of these policies to the administrative staff. (9/25/63)

The meeting adjourned shortly thereafter at 1:30 A.M. A strange item of human behavior? Were the "rightful owners" trying to take back the store? Or, as several commentators told us in interviews, that the Superintendent presented the Board a "me or him" choice between the Superintendent and the Board President because of the difficulties they had in working together. Mr. Wilkerson had been in the 4-2 minority opposing the hiring of Spanman. Later Spanman was to refer to this incident of change as equivalent to "winning the battle and losing the war." We will have more to say later on "the politics of localism and proactive cosmopolitan leadership styles." Manifestly, for the moment, a fragile quality seems to exist in the relationships among the incumbents, the Superintendent, the Board President, and the Board and their policy statements. More latently, a sturdy dynamic exists among such conceptions as politics, persuasion, power, policy, and the positions of school leadership.

At a "lesser" or more mundane level, much of the year reads like the prior year. Spanman continued to receive invitations from diverse national groups to speak, to consult, or to join in as a member of a working conference. The Board continued to support this with time away from the District and, on occasion, expense money as well. Spanman was a busy, active, professional educator. Similarly, policy statements flowed out of subcommittees and typewriters continuously. "The agenda was an inch thick at one Board meeting" recalled one staff member. The push for technology continued as various data processing systems, e.g. IBM, were considered. High school student scheduling was computerized through a contract with a local firm. Citizen involvement continued as well in multiple forms, most notably through the Citizens Advisory Committee. Discussions of future bond issues and tax levies continued.

In January of 1964, the Superintendent's agenda included two announcements conveying further the scope of his hopes for the District. First, the Dean of Education of City University, William Morrison, was to meet with District staff regarding a Milford--State Department--City University Program for Research and Development. He also raised a joint Summer program in non graded curriculum and team teaching. The rationale was clear:

> School districts in America in the middle of the twentieth century no longer have adequate resources to appreciably change the behavior of teachers and students without the cooperation and wholesale involvement of other educational agencies, such as universities and state departments of education.
>
> ...develop closer working relationships between the various educational agencies in the fields of teacher recruitment, training, and research.

> The staff foresees university faculty members becoming involved with the School District and its problems. This involvement would be not only in a consulting capacity, but would include the development of curriculum materials for specific disciplines, and participation in the implementation and evaluation of projects.
>
> This item is for information. (1/25/64)

In a fundamental sense this was a major prelude to the Smith and Keith involvement and what was to culminate seven years later as Anatomy of Educational Innovation. Spanman's net was adjustable.

The second item indicated a broadening of the kinds of relationships and a means for financing the activities. This item is reproduced in toto:

> XXII Proposal To Be Submitted To The Olds Foundation For A Financial Grant To Support A Comprehensive Project For Developing A Design For Learning
>
> The administrative staff is convinced that the resources in the local school district are not fully adequate to reorganize content in the way that is necessary to prepare boys and girls for a living as well as to make a living.
>
> To date, the District has received three grants from the Architectual Design Institute, one grant from Technology,Inc., and the promise of several other grants from various sources. Included as Attachment II is a proposed project entitled, "Comprehensive Project for Developing a Design for Learning." It would be financed jointly by the Olds Foundation and the Milford School District. The duration of the project would be three years, starting July 1, 1964, and continuing through June 30, 1967.
>
> The Milford School District is concerned with a learning milieu in which the teacher and students "find themselves." This milieu includes a) knowledge, b) the learner, c) the teacher, d) at a defined time, and e) a defined place or facility. It appears futile to believe that an appreciable alteration in one dimension, e.g., knowledge will not alter or effect change in other dimensions.

> The proposed project would include a dynamic change in the learning milieu. It intends to develop a design for learning. The study will focus on the aspect of time and space, using knowledge as the constants; i.e., what time and space requirements are necessary to implement the desired knowledge.
>
> Staff members have discussed the proposed project with officials of the Olds Foundation. A meeting is scheduled in February with Foundation officials at the AASA Convention in Atlantic City. (1/28/64)

To us, even a dozen and a half years later, that appears as a powerful statement. First, a shift in goals or at least an emphasis broader than an economic—earn a living—aspiration is in place. This will require a reorganization of the content of schooling. Second, such a change will cost more than the District's local resources can provide. Third, some evidence appears that the District can compete for those resources necessary to move the chain of events along. Fourth, the conception of "learning milieu" is based on a systemic view of interdependent elements. Fifth, the elements to be attacked directly, and here we seem to be back to the Kensington School, are its educational specifications and its physical structures built according to ideas and plans in the Specs. Sixth, the Superintendent's initiating, leading out quality is in evidence for the District has already been in touch with Foundation people. Finally, a clear statement of one kind of business transacted at national meetings appears. Spanman is an active participant in AASA.

Just as these plans were being developed, more local problems arose. The District voters defeated a million dollar bond issue and teacher's tax levy by roughly 1,700 for to 2,400 against. That's a long way from the necessary two-thirds majority required for new levies. Later, the Board split 5-1; Mr. Wilkerson, the former President, declining on the vote to resubmit. Two days later the Board met on a Saturday morning and reaffirmed its stand on pay for teachers and quality education. Then it indicated the consequences (threats?) if the February 25th submission were to fail. These included:

> ...1) assess a student instructional supply (fee) of $8.00 for senior high, $6.00 for junior high and $4.00 for elementary; 2) require payment of a secondary school textbook fee of $5.00 (grades 9, 10, 11, 12); 3) charge tuition for driver education instruction, $20.00 per student; and 4) reduce kindergarten program to one-half year.

It passed unanimously. Two former Board members, Edmond and Quigley, chaired the committee.

A Vignette on Innovation and Change: In a previous study, we argued for a political/systemic/contextual model of educational change (Smith and Dwyer, 1980). Recently also we have raised a longitudinal nested systems model of innovation and change (Smith, Prunty, and Dwyer, 1981) based on a preliminary analysis of some of our data from Kensington Revisited. As we have been reporting on Spanman's innovative and educational ideas, his proposals for foundation support, some localist problems in the Board of Education, and the District's economic reservations in voting down a Bond Issue and a Tax Levy, we found a classic illustration of our evolving position.

As one item in the larger agenda of staff reports to the Board on curriculum and instruction, Jerl Cohen, the Curriculum Director, joined with Spanman for a report on "Schools for the 60's", the findings of

NEA's Project on Instruction. In a novel fashion, they developed "A Program Course" for the Board of Education using data and ideas from NEA's Project Instruction. The format is simple. In the left hand column are the DECISION AREAS (12) with the Committee's RECOMMENDATIONS, a total of 33. The right hand column is headed "WHAT MILFORD IS DOING TO MEET THIS RECOMMENDATION." The Board member as student reads the recommendation from NEA, writes in a blank his responses regarding Milford's action, and moves the marker down to read the Spanman/Cohen answer. Figure 9 presents a few illustrative items.

Insert Figure 9 About Here

The materials concluded with a "from--to" list regarding "Toward continued improvement of education." The first five specific items are presented as illustrations here:

From	To
Group Instruction	Individual Instruction
Teacher as Dispenser of Knowledge	Teacher as Organizer for Inquiry
Memorize Facts	Develop Concepts
Emphasis on Grades	Emphasis on Growth
Rigid Curriculum	Flexible Curriculum

Smith and Keith (1971, p. 34) have presented a similar listing which appeared in Principal Shelby's Instructional Plan for the Kensington School faculty.

The contextual, systemic aspects we have attempted to highlight in Figure 10. In prose, we would argue that a cluster of influential national educators, e.g., Goodlad of UCLA, Anderson of Harvard, Shaplin

NEA PROJECT INSTRUCTION	WHAT MILFORD IS DOING TO MEET THIS RECOMMENDATION
DECISION AREA II RESEARCH, EXPERIMENTATION, AND INNOVATION	
RECOMMENDATION 6: School systems should allocate and appropriate proportion of their annual operating budgets--not less than 1 per cent--for the support of research, experimentation, and innovation	**The District is presently providing less than 1 per cent for research.**
RECOMMENDATION 7: Adequate time should be provided for each staff member to participate in curriculum planning, research, evaluation, and other activities designed to improve the instructional program	**Inservice program released all teachers on seventeen Monday afternoons. Department Chairmen will be permitted an extra period next year for curriculum planning and research. Teachers new to the system are provided opportunities to visit in classrooms of experienced teachers one day. Substitutes are provided for teachers to attend conferences, visit other schools, and develop curriculum.**

Figure 9: Illustrative frames from programmed booklet on Project Instruction

of Harvard and Washington University, developed a series of partially integrated positions focusing on school/university research and development, individualized instruction, non graded pupil organization, differentiated staffing, team teaching, and technology in the schools. The coterie of Milford's new leadership—Superintendent Spanman, Curriculum Director Cohen, and Kensington's Principal Shelby were students of this point of view. NEA's Project Instruction formalized and codified this "new elementary education" in a triad of reports (NEA, 1963). Spanman and Cohen developed an instructional program for the Board to clarify the theoretical/ideological position. This became one more piece of the dialogue, teaching and educating of Board members, and contributed to the continuing flow of Board decisions supporting the thrust of the Spanman administration. Eventually, the Kensington School was built, organized, and staffed in line with this theoretical/ideological position. Anatomy of Educational Innovation developed those stories in considerable detail.

Insert Figure 10 About Here

The political aspects appeared shortly. On March 10th, 1964, within a month of these far reaching plans and hopes the District once again voted down the bond and tax proposals. They failed again to carry even a simple majority. The Board moved to implement its previously stated consequences. Only Mr. Wilkerson dissented.

Business as Usual: On March 24th, the week before the annual school board elections, the current board engaged in what had become

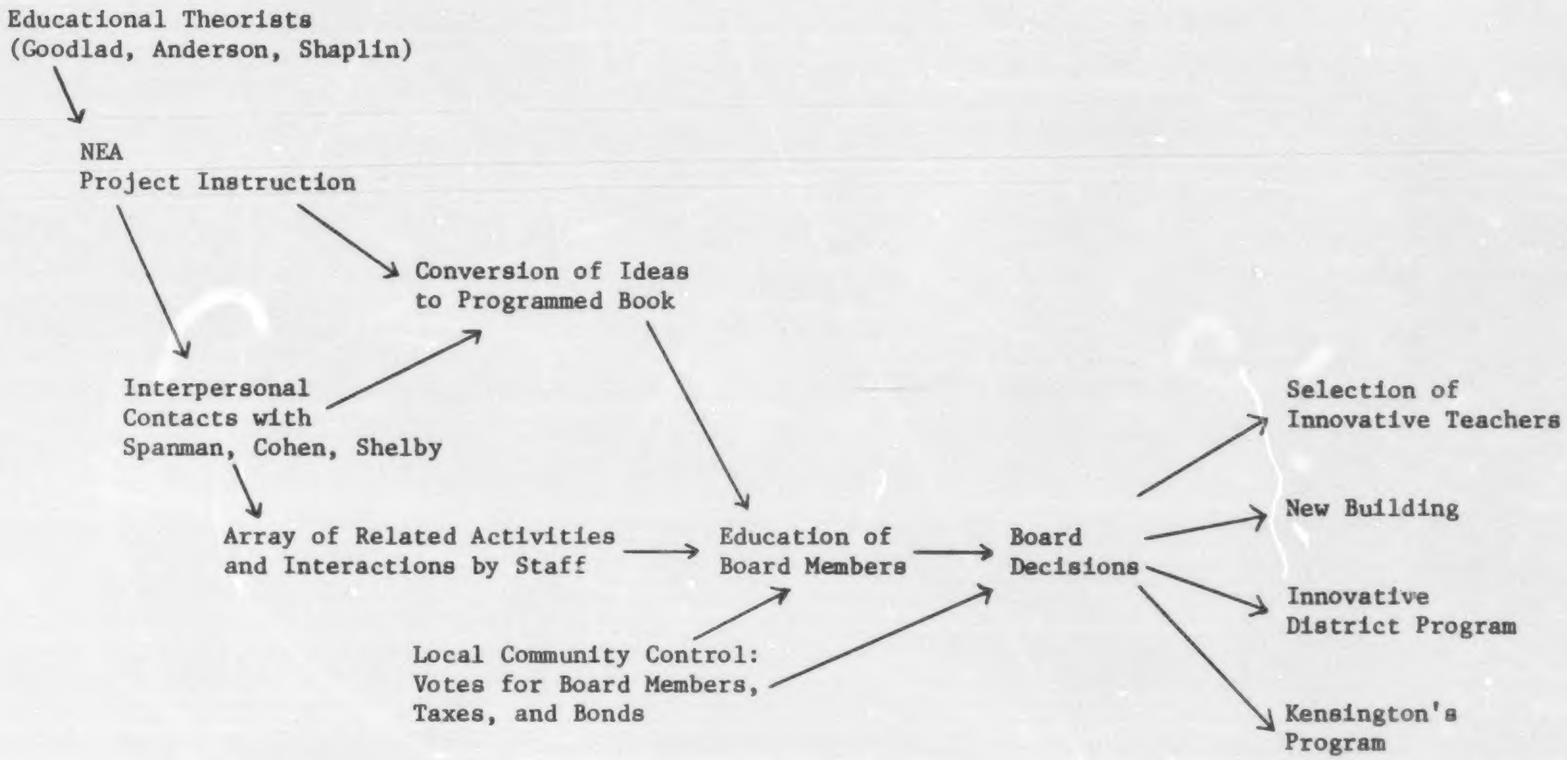
Educational Theorists
(Goodlad, Anderson, Shaplin)
NEA
Project Instruction
Conversion of Ideas
to Programmed Book
Interpersonal
Contacts with
Spanman, Cohen, Shelby
Array of Related Activities
and Interactions by Staff
Education of
Board Members
Board
Decisions
Local Community Control:
Votes for Board Members,
Taxes, and Bonds
Selection of
Innovative Teachers
New Building
Innovative
District Program
Kensington's
Program

Figure 10: A Political/Contextual/Systemic Perspective on Innovation

a related sub ritual. They voted a new three year contract to the Superintendent, "at the same salary." Here, too, Mr. Wilkerson dissented in a 5-1 vote.

In spite of the Board's declarations of opposition to Federal Aid, they took bids on 10 to 15 thousand dollars of NDEA Equipment.

Elementary school boundaries were in contention. Some children from a greater distance were being bussed from a dense neighborhood and children who were closer to Johnson School would have to walk to a farther elementary school. Further with increased building in their neighborhood, it was anticipated that:

> When it gets overcrowded at this point our children will then go through another redistricting program which will put them all back in the Johnson School from which they originally came. We protest this action before it gets started.
> (4/21/64)

The nature of neighborhoods, the issues of walking and bussing, and the policy of neighborhood schools has been with the District for a long time, arises from time to time, and will later become entangled with ethnic and racial changes in the School District. Conceptually these seem to be issues of political interest, conflict, and tentative resolution.

In May, 1964, the Superintendent's passion for educating everyone and his passion for the novel and the creative appeared on the agenda as "Item X, Tentative Instructional Meetings for 1964-65." The item read this way:

> The staff, realizing its responsibilities for informing the patrons of the School District and members of the Board of

> Education of the nature and progress of the instructional program, plans to continue the series of monthly curriculum orientation meetings during the 1964-65 school year in accordance to Bylaw No. 9441--Regular Meetings. The tentative program is as follows:

September 8, 1964	Promising Practices in Elementary Education
October 13, 1964	Promising Practices in Middle School
November 10, 1964	Promising Practices in Senior High School
January 12, 1965	New Methods to Organize Content
February 9, 1965	New Methods of Organizing Pupils, Time, Space, and Teachers
March 9, 1965	A Look at New Materials
May 11, 1965	Plans for the Following Year

The energy, the staff organization, the planning abilities required for such "simple" programs seems considerable.

Conclusion: So, Year II ended. Mr. Wilkerson, although no longer President of the Board remained in the critics role and voted against several key items on the agenda. In this way he continued in the tradition of earlier incumbents we described as "the strong Board member", individuals whose definitions of education differed from the then Superintendent, Mr. McBride.[6] Community resistance to tax increases remain. Spanman's cosmopolitanism, pursuit of resources, and stance as an imaginative educator continue. The origination of interaction and his proactive style continues to integrate the multiple aspects. The flow of activity continues unabated.

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[6] Those stories and analyses appear in Volume I and led to an unsuccessful move to replace McBride in the early 1950's and a successful move in 1961. Such regularities are important in Milford. We assume the phenomenon is more generalizable.

Year III of Spanman's Tenure: 1964-65

During the third year, all of the usual business continued and we omit most of it to concentrate on several special incidents. A few items report on old stories.

Citizen Involvement: Law Suits, Committees, and Communities: The item in the Board minutes only hinted at the problem:

> Mr. Henderson moved that a special Board meeting be called for September 17, 1964, at 8 P.M., at the New Junior High School cafeteria, and invite the Registered Voters League of Milford and interested patrons for the purpose of informing the patrons of the District of Board actions and the reasons for them; to answer pertinent questions relative thereto; and to convey notice of the meeting to officers of the various organizations in the community. Mrs. Harcourt seconded the motion and it carried unanimously. (9/8/64)

Innocuous enough, but after reading five decades of meeting minutes, it sounded as though something were afoot.

The meeting was held. The Secretary read a letter from a Mr. Connor.

> Mr. Connor advised that no representatives of the people involved in the lawsuit against the Board would attend the meeting and gave reasons.

Questions and answeres went on for two and a half hours and the meeting adjourned at 10:30 P.M.

On Tuesday, September 22nd, the Board acknowledged receipt of a "Writ of Mandamus". A copy was attached. The Superintendent and the Board were being sued because they were to provide "free public schools", yet, they had instituted instructional fees of $4.00, $6.00, and $8.00 and book fees of $5.00, both of which were new to the District.[7] Secondly, though a teachers tax levy had failed, salaries were increased, and funds were taken from general sources into which the fees were being paid. The writ called this a "subterfuge", an action against the wishes of the voters. The Board's attorney filed a "Motion to quash alternative writ of Mandamus" on two grounds. First, the "alleged facts...do not constitute sufficient facts." And, secondly, that the assessment of fees "...is a discretionary action vested in respondents by law and is not subject to control by writ of mandamus." The School lawyer submitted a ten page counter claim.

One of the ironies of school affairs, and a continuing difficult issue to conceptualize, is that no action is either simple or uniform across even definable sub groups. At the same time this group of patrons was bringing suit, another group of patrons, the Citizen's Advisory Committee was submitting its report from a year's activity. In the Superintendent's words, their brief was stated:

> In establishing the committee, the Board indicated that the committee should have as its first responsibility a study of the building and educational needs of the School District, making reports as needed, including a final report to the Board of Education at the completion of the school year.
> (9/22/64)

The report came in at the time another part of the community was exploding in anger. The covering letter of the President of the Citizen's Advisory Committee noted the problem:

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[7] The reader might note that free textbooks came into the District in the 1920's by Board action.

> The Committee at the final meeting on September 14, 1964, adopted a resolution in which it stated that it believed it regrettable that the group which recently filed suit against the School Board did not bring the matter before the Citizen's Advisory Committee--a committee formed expressly to convey to the Board feelings and problems of the community regarding school matters. (8/14/64)

In short, the community was not all of a piece. For all the actors in the system this posed an intriguing agenda of different but interrelated problems.

If that was not complications enough, that same evening the Board passed on procedures to implement a "Professional Relations Committee." This group, in time, would become the locus for issues in "professional negotiations." Policies and their bureaucratic structures seem to begin in one climate and to possess certain purposes and functions. Then, they became actualized at later times and in very different climates and circumstances.

> Policy #4161 provides for the establishment of a Professional Relations Committee for the purpose of discussion and reaching a mutually satisfactory agreement on the educational program, its improvement and development, salary, welfare provisions, working conditions, and other problems of mutual concern.
>
> The following recommendations on procedures are submitted for approval of the Board:
>
> 1) The Committee shall consist of six members: the Superintendent of Schools, two representatives designated by the Board of Education, and three representatives of the Community Teachers Association.
> 2) At the September meeting of each year the Committe shall elect its own chairman from among its membership, the chairman to serve for a period of one year.
> 3) Teacher members of the Committee shall be released from school duties without loss of salary if and when Committee meetings are scheduled during the school day.

> 4) The Committee shall be empowered to appoint subcommittees for the purpose of studying matters of concern which may arise in the course of discussion, and of making recommendations to the Committee.
> 5) The Committee shall have available to it, provided by the Board of Education, any clerical assistance necessary to the performance of its duties. (9/22/64)

The motion passed unanimously. As we read the item this is the formalization of a major shift in the arbitrariness of the power of the Board, which earlier (Volume I) we had called the Potency of the School Board. The longer reach of this Committee will appear as our story of Milford continues to unfold.

In October, 1964 the Board commended the Citizen's Advisory Committee and voted to extend their activities for another year.

A month later in what seemed an eminently sensible move, and one worthy of conceptualizing for its latent dimensions, the Board acted this way:

> Mrs. Harcourt moved that, inasmuch as there will be a long delay before the final decision in the test case concerning the assessment of fees, the Board of Education make available all books and materials needed in the various instructional programs to students who refused to pay the optional fee assessments, with the stipulation that at the time the court renders its decision upholding the authority of the Board of Education to assess optional book rental and supply fees, the students receiving the service without payment be required to pay the stipulated amounts immediately. (10/27/64)

The motion passed unanimously.

The significance of this seemed to be:

1) no child was to suffer
2) the issue was changed from substantive differences to procedural differences--does the Board have the authority?

3) The issue was relegated to a lower level of importance and saliency, $10-15.00 a youngster, more in keeping with its importance in the broader scheme of Board activities and Milford's education program.

In the meantime the Board lawyer, Mr. Irby, continued to file appropriate memorenda, citing state law and legal precedent regarding the suit. The language of the statues seemed to favor the Board, e.g.:

> ...the board of education may at its option also furnish all free text books.... (10/28/81)

The usual proviso was that the elementary schools should receive priority in any discretionary spending. Poor children also could be granted special status in provision of materials.

Meanwhile, another citizen group was raising money through voluntary contributions for mobile bleachers to be used at the high school and other schools. Then $1500, plus $1000 from senior class donations and $500.00 from an "activity account" put the $4,000 goal in sight. A support group for athletic activities, especially at the high school, has been in Milford since the beginning.

The principle we seem to be reaching for is the old cliche "you can't please all the people all the time." The Superintendent and the Board presumably might:

1) take such conflict, partial disaffection, and parental support as part of the reality of schooling.
2) keep working at it--legally, in open discussions and hearings, and in their own decision making.
3) maintain some kind of gyroscope which blends general principles and values with "the will of the people".
4) try to minimize such emotional reactions as anger, rage, and depression.

5) realize that the issues will pass and new ones will take their place.
6) only on rare occasions will the consequences be devastating--Board incumbents replaced, Superintendent fired.

Such a social reality as this seems a given in Milford. Similar realities must be present in other districts.

As we indicated also in our earlier Chronicle of the Milford District, the communities involved in public schooling is neither one nor simple. Milford is part of Midwest State. The Board members met with other board members of Suburban County over a set of "legislative goals." This year the items on the agenda included:

1) Removal of the present two-third's barrier restricting the passage of school operating levies...
2) Upgrading the State School Foundation Program Formula...
3) Reduction of the two thirds majority on passing school bond issues...
4) Inclusion of kindergarten education in the Foundation program...
5) Amend existing statutes so that a tax rate would revert to previous rate in the event of the failure of a levy; not to one dollar, if defeated. (11/24/64)

A month later, it was indicated that the group voted favorably on the recommendations. The essence of democracy, at least in schooling issues is unending meetings, continuous attempts at persuasion among ever changing groups with different interests and agendas. The size and locale of the groups varies from small clusters of district patrons, to cross district elected representatives, to county programs,[8] to state legislatures and to state courts. To this point, minimal federal or national influences have appeared. The District has continuously opposed the idea of Federal Aid to Education, but equally consistently applied for any funds due it in current law.

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[8] During this same period the district contracted with the County for "Mental Health Services."

On January 26, 1965 the Board passed unanimously a resolution to sign the "Assurance of Compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964." The key provision was:

> ...no person shall on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded for participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be otherwise subjected to discrimination under any program or activity for which the School District receives federal assistance. (1/26/65)

The major program assistance at this time was NDEA money for upgrading programs in science, mathematics and foreign language and aid to areas with large numbers of federal employees.

The inconsistency in the Board's position on Federal Aid seemed not to be missed among the members themselves. The depth of the feeling in the community was reflected in a motion in February. The Board split 2-4 on a motion to refuse all Federal aid:

> Mr. Henderson moved that in recognition of the Federal Government's inability to meet its financial obligations, even with the excessive taxes already levied upon the people, the Board proposes to refuse all Federal Aid under Public Laws 815 and 874 and NDEA for the school year 1965-66, if the voters approve an incidental fund levy increase of seven cents to provide the funds presently budgeted and necessary. Further that this choice be given voters at the April 6, 1965 election. Mr. Tittle seconded the motion. (2/9/65)

Policy Codifications: As we have commented on numerous occasions, field work research methods require one to "be around" or be in the setting a good deal. Such time involvement provokes a variety of interactions and observations of mundane activities. In the Summer of 1981, while reading Board minute of the Spanman era, we shared a conference room with several employees who were updating the Milford Policy Handbooks.

The large blue backed ring notebooks date from the Spanman era. The organizational structure of the books was set as follows by him, his staff, and the Board:

1000	Community
2000	Administration
3000	Business
4000	Personnel
5000	Students
6000	Instruction
7000	Individual School
8000	Philosophy
9000	Board of Education

Many of the items still carry dates of 1963, 1964, and 1965.

The substantive issues seem to be an amalgam of relevant groups inside and outside of the district and bureaucratic activities. The groups are obviously important community, board, administrative, faculty and staff, and students. Individual schools represent the significant clustering of actors. Philosophy and goals, instruction, and business related to the major elements of organizational process.

Each policy was on a separate loose-leaf sheet in the book. Each sheet was formated as illustrated in Figure 11. Each policy was titled, numbered, and stated. References to appropriate state law were cited. Dates of adoption, effectiveness and amending were also included. The formating was a powerful, simple, usable innovation in itself.

Insert Figure 11 About Here

The magnitude of that undertaking should have been obvious from the oversize bound volumes of Board minutes, even when split into Volume 1 and Volume 2 for each year. Similarly it should have been obvious from the month in and month out submission, discussion, and approval of section by section of policy which went on in those years. But it really was the appearance of a conference table stacked high with the three ringed notebooks which brought the significance of the codification tasks as well as its magnitude to salience or awareness. Through the years the evolving Policy Handbook has been another quasi stationary part of Milford's equilibrium. Spanman's "innovation" settled an issue which had festered since the late 1940's and early 1950's, which was a major item in Mr. Lewis', the Board President, attack on Mr. McBride, and which almost got Mr. McBride fired in 1954-54.

The National Gamble: In February of 1965, Spanman's cosmopolitan ambitions for Milford reached their zenith. With the cooperation and help of Jerl Cohen, the District Curriculum Director, he convened a nationally prestigious group of professional educators, foundation officials, and U. S. Office of Education specialists. The Board officially sanctioned the meeting (although only a few days before the meeting was to occur) with this motion:

Title: NO.

OFFICIAL POLICY

Legal reference:

Policy Adopted: Amended:

Effective Date: Page ___ of ___ Pages

Milford School District

Figure 11: Sample Page of Policy Handbook

> Mr. Baskin moved that the staff be authorized to continue to design a framework for a five year school improvement program designed to attract the interest of Foundations, National Education Associations, and/or the U. S. Office of Education, sufficient to provide a grant of one million dollars for the program.
>
> The purpose of the program would be to provide for:
>
> 1) Better educational opportunities for boys and girls in Milford.
> 2) Professional growth and stimulation of personnel involved in curriculum study.
> 3) Better understanding of the nature of a comprehensive school district as a totality--its curriculum patterns, the administrative enterprise, community responsibility, and staff utilization.
> 4) The creation of a model demonstration school district for the nation, which will attract the interest and financial assistance of foundations, associations, and the U. S. Office of Education.
>
> Mrs. Harcourt seconded the motion and it carried unanimously. 2/23/65)

The Superintendent's agenda, as usual, elaborated on both the nature and rationale of the recommendation. Some nine "prominent educators" were named as visitors who would "consider the proposal developed by the staff." They represented prestigious universities on the west coast, the east coast, and the midwest as well as two nearby institutions. The Olds Foundation, NEA, and the U. S. Office of Education were also in attendance.

The rationale indicated the scope and hope of Spanman and his associates:

> The program for curriculum reform in the School District involves a concerted attempt to develop a comprehensive curriculum design that involves the relevant components that exist in a school organization. The problem in the past has been that curriculum work has been patchwork with little thought given to the objectives of the organization nor the inextricable and complementary nature of the essential elements that exist to attain the objectives.

> The purpose of the symposium to be held on Thursday, February 25, is to bring together selected authorities in curriculum, instruction, and the community with a view toward examining, discussing and questioning the conceptual model as a vehicle to be useful in delineating the objectives for education and defining the roles and responsibilities of all persons: learners, teachers, principals, the superintendent, the board of education, and the members of the community.
>
> A second task of the participants will be to identify the areas that should be studied in more detail and to discard those items that cannot or should not be studied at this time.
>
> An attempt has been made to touch upon the major components in the subject under consideration; however, there are doubtless some areas that were deleted that should have been considered. While some areas have been treated in more detail than others, this should not suggest that they are more complex nor more important.
>
> The projected time span of the proposed study is five years. The total amount of the tentative request from outside sources would be $1,000,000.00. (2/23/65)

His recommendations were included verbatim in the Board's action, as quoted earlier from the minutes.

Appended to the minutes, as usual, was a basic document prepared by Cohen and a consultant from Eastern University, who attended the conference. It included:

1) A cover letter to participants
2) An overview
3) Statement of problems (11)
4) Projected outcome
5) Information about the Milford School District
6) Projected Budget (approximately $200,000/year for 5 years)
7) Bibliography

A brief summary set of interpretations by one of the participants gives an early perspective on the meeting itself:

In short, it is very clear that many of the analyses we have been making of Kensington's aspirations, agendas, and problems have their counterparts in Milford's districtwide curriculum efforts.

The high point of the district's curricular effort occurred in February when representatives of private foundations and the United States Office of Education met with the Milford staff and the local and national consultants. Although many issues were discussed, the goal was curriculum reform; and although many examples of hopes and relities were provided, Kensington was the crown jewel.

The outcomes of curriculum reform were broad. Jerl Cohen's position paper prepared for the conference phrased them this way:

1) Better educational opportunity for boys and girls of Milford.
2) Professional growth and stimulation of personnel involved in curriculum study.
3) Better understanding of the nature of a comprehensive School District as a totality--its curriculum patterns, the administrative enterprise, community responsibility, and staff utilization.
4) The creation of a demonstration School District; not a lighthouse district in the traditional definition of the word where certain exciting innovations are being carried out with culturally advantaged children with educationally supportive parents; not a lighthouse in the sense that the "truth" has been found, but a lighthouse in the sense that here is a typical district that is genuinely concerned about looking at curriculum and instruction in a meaningful way. The attitude would be for persons to come and observe, not the successes so much, but the types of problems that are encountered along the way and to observe the progress that is being made.
5) Serve as a "seedbed" for theory building, a place for concept testing and empirical studies.

Eleven "top priority problems were identified." The stated objectives for public education in Milford, the social movements influencing curriculum, Kensington's role as a subculture in changing the entire district, the identification of district problems, the conflict resulting from curriculum reform, and the nature of the teacher role illustrate the tenor of the problems.

The conference chairman "argued for building an integrated picture of district activities which then might be brought together for resources to implement the totality." After a preliminary discussion they settled on using Kensington as a

> focus and as an illustration of the district's problems. The day replayed much of the content that we have raised elsewhere. In a sense the conference was caught in the three separate agendas of the three major figures of Milford. Cohen sought an overall umbrella or conception useful for rationalizing his activities. Spanman sought a structure for action--a means for reaching out into the district with Kensington as a model. Shelby sought pieces of Kensington that would be exportable.
>
> Overall, approximately $200,000 a year for 5 years were the tangible goals. Neither that day nor later in the spring was the funding forthcoming. In retrospect, the failure in the Milford District's attempt for outside financial support of the curriculum project was most critical for Kensington as well as for the district in general.
> (Smith and Keith, 1971, pp. 296-7)

The gamble remained unsuccessful. Private funds were not forthcoming; the Elementary and Secondary Education Act was still a year or two away. Pushes from within the district and pulls from without were to fragment the small and fragile group clustered about Spanman.

Closing Out The Year: In retrospect, February was the year's high point. The March minutes indicate that the general thrust of the year continued. Among the many items were these:

1) Bills were paid
2) Construction invoices for Kensington were approved and paid
3) Two members of the Board were to meet with the "philosophy development committee"
4) Senior high speech and athletic groups and staff were commended for outstanding accomplishments
5) A multiple district school dropout program was approved
6) The Board split 3-3 on a Bill in the State House of Representatives regarding formulas for state funding
7) A high school student was expelled on a 4-2 vote
8) Resignations, for four teachers, effective as of the end of the year, were accepted--two new teachers were hired
9) The high school athletic field was named for a former student and athlete who was killed in action in Viet Nam
10) The meeting adjourned

The Superintendent presented a "this item is for information" statement entitled "Summary of Curriculum Studies." It carried a contrasting emphasis to the national gamble reported earlier. It seemed to carry a "summing up" in a broader sense than that implied in the title. The Superintendent stated it in four short paragraphs:

> The decisive changes that are occurring in the structure of knowledge and the methods of learning demand that local school districts experiment and test the various methods of organization, of teaching, and of organizing content.
>
> Over one hundred projects have been instituted in the last two years in the School District. Seventy-seven are included in a summary sheet that is attached as Appendix "D", pages 1-11. The conduct of these projects is consistent with the administrators philosophy that more and better education does not necessarily require more time--more teachers--or more money. Improvements can be made within the existing framework with a different and more effective use of time--teachers--money.
>
> Many projects have become a permanent part of the instructional program, such as team teaching in United States History at the Senior High School and block-of-time scheduling at the junior high schools. Some projects have been tested and found to be inappropriate for children in the District. Other projects will be encouraged for the entire School District during the coming school year, such as contemporary mathematics and non gradedness.
>
> Since curriculum studies begin at all times during the year, no statement is complete. However, the present summary includes all but the most recent. (3/23/65)

The format of the reporting seems simple, clear and informative:

Study or Program	Grade Level	School	Comments and How It is Being Evaluated

Although projects appear in every school in the District. Kensington led in number and size of efforts.

Insert Figure 12 About Here

Edinburg	4
Field	4
Grant	3
Hillside	7
Johnson	2
Marquette	1
McBride	5
Midvale	2
Milford	2
Kensington	15
Williams	6

New Junior High	9
Old Junior High	7
Senior High	9

Figure 12: Innovative Projects in the Milford Schools

At the April 6th Board meeting, at 1 A.M. the unofficial election returns were received. One incumbent, Mr. Wilkerson, who had resigned as Board President, mid year, a year ago was re-elected. The second incumbent, Mr. Baskin, lost to Mr. Reeves, a citizen active in school affairs who had run as a write-in candidate a few years before. The victory was clear cut. The winners each had a little over 4700 votes, the next high was 3700 and the losing incumbent, coming in fourth had 3200 votes. A fifth candidate drew 2600. Hindsight tells us clearly that the winds and tides were shifting. Foresight might have raised to the naive reader of Board minutes a series of questions:

> 1) The major opponent of the Superintendent wins handily, therefore...?
> 2) A major supporter of the Superintendent loses badly, fourth in a five person race?
> 3) What's the philosophy of the new man?
> 4) Will the third place man try again? What's his point of view?

Partial answers appear in the tax levy which was also defeated resoundingly 3519 yeas, 6780 nays.

Further clarity in the meaning of the elections appeared two weeks later. For the first time, one of the Superintendent's recommendations did not receive Board approval. The item blended Spanman's national ambitions for the District, the place of Kensington in those plans, and his perspective on educational innovation:

> Mr. Henderson moved that the Milford School District participate in the Southern State University Internship Program for the 1965-66 school year and that four interns (two/semester) be employed by the District to serve in the Kensington Elementary School at a salary of $1,325 each per semester. Mrs. Harcourt seconded the motion and roll call vote was taken as follows:

Mrs. Harcourt	yes	
Mr. Reeves	no	
Mr. Henderson	yes	
Mr. Tittle	yes	
Mr. Wilkerson	no	
Mr. Ludwig	no	(4/27/81)

The new member joined with the former Board president who had been squeezed out by the Superintendent. The current Board president, for this vote, joined the dissidents. The same group voted together to defeat a nominee for the District Insurance Advisory Commission. Was a coalition beginning?

Whether intentional or the chance juxtaposing of events the Superintendent's agenda contained, as Item XIV, a discussion of "School Board—Administrator Relationship". Most of his remarks were based on E. M. Tuttle's School Board Leadership in America. Additional references were to a publication by Arthur C. Croft Company and a monograph from the State Department on Suggestions for Procedures for Midwest State Boards of Education. Selected from Tuttle's statement were several basic principles, a dozen "Legitimate Expectations of the Administrator by the Board," and a dozen "Legitimate Expectations of the Board by the Administration." Spanman's never ending role of teacher/educator continued, in troubled times as well as good times.

Also on the agenda was a report by the Superintendent on President Johnson's signing of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Federal aid had arrived. Spanman indicated most of the money would to to schools with concentrations of low income pupils. Title III, on innovative local programs seemed the part most applicable to Milford. As part of his information to the Board he indicated the usual procedures after passing such a bill:

> 1) The funds must be appropriated by Congress.
> 2) The U. S. Commissioner of Education must extablish regulations concerning federal administration of the Act.
> 3) The State Department of Education must make application and submit state plans for the state administration of the Act.
> 4) The state application and state plan must be approved by the U. S. Office of Education.
> 5) The local public school authorities must submit an application for a program or project, in accordance with provisions of the Act, to the State Department of Education for approval. (4/27/65)

In March, the Board unanimously adopted what seems an unusually worded resolution:

> WHEREAS, the education of children is at stake in the Milford School District; and
>
> WHEREAS, there is a critical need for a forty-two cent increase in the teachers levy to be levied for a two year period; and therefore,
>
> Be it further RESOLVED that *every member of the Board will speak as he has voted in Board meetings and will not speak against any administrator, principal, teacher, member of the Board, or past actions of the Board, and will give whole hearted support to the passage of said teachers levy*.
> (Our Italics) (5/11/65)

It seems hardly a statement to reassure a patron, or a superintendent, regarding the kind of principles enumerated from Tuttle's book a month before:

> There shall be a friendly good will and mutual respect between the Board and the administrator which makes possible complete frankness, confidence, and understanding concerning the conduct of the schools. (4/27/65)

Or, perhaps, an unreality exists in the professional literature on schooling.

The failure of earlier tax levies for salaries and the resubmission of a lesser levy to the community provoked a statement from the local CTA. A key paragraph suggests other facets in the continuing complications in the maintenance, improvement or reform of public education:

> It is the professional duty of the administration and the teaching staff to inform the people of the District of its educational needs. But it is not the duty of the administrators and the teachers to attempt to provide more educational services than the community is willing to pay for. To ask teachers to provide more services than the community is willing to finance is, in effect, asking the teachers to subsidize the education of the children of the District. It is both illogical and unreasonable for the administration and community to expect teachers to accept inadequate salaries in order that better and more complete educational services and facilities may be provided for a district which is unable or unwilling to pay for those services. *If the community is only able or willing to provide enough funds to maintain basic state requirements, that is all the Board of Education and the administration should attempt to provide*.
>
> *It is incumbent upon the Board of Education and the administration to progress at a slower pace and to take the community along, rather than to get so far ahead as to cause the community to refuse to support the program*. (Our Italics)
>
> (5/11/65)

The May 11th Board meeting adjourned at 3:57 A.M.

Retrospective conversations and interviews with school personnel who were teachers at the time indicate that the resolution's content was symbolic of a much wider range of dissatisfaction--inequities (favored status) between Kensington and other schools, a perceived lack of substance in the many extra teachers' meetings, and perhaps most of all the perceived disregard of salary schedules in hiring of many of the bright young Kensington teachers.

At the May 25th meeting a brief minute conveyed what might be called a conclusion about events in Milford:

> President Ludwig declared a 30 minute board recess at 8:30 P.M. in order to view a special local TV program entitled, "Crises in the Milford Schools."

The Superintendent had taped an interview with one of the local television stations.

A special session Board meeting on June 2nd didn't adjourn until 3:50 A.M. They had the task of waiting until after midnight for the unhappy news that the teachers' levy had failed once again. A motion was made and passed for a minimum $2.00 levy requiring a simple majority and another special election on June 18th.

Meanwhile, the push to finish the Policy Handbook continued through committee activities, initial presentation discussions, final editing and unanimous Board approval. In the June 24th meeting the Series 4000, Policies on Personnel were approved unanimously, excepting Policy #4141. The separate motion to approve #4141 was defeated 4-2. The Yea's included Henderson and Harcourt. The Nay's were Wilkerson, Reeves, and Ludwig now joined by Tittle. The item in contention dealt with competitive conditions:

> Temporary
>
> A highly desirable incoming person who cannot be attracted by the salary available to him on a given step of the Teachers' Salary Guide may be paid a differential during his first few years of employment.

Permanent

> A highly qualified person trained for a special field in which salaries are generally above those provided by the Teachers' Guide may be paid a differential while salaries in his field remain above the Guide. (6/24/65)

The Board returned to a uniform salary schedule.

A coalition of negative sentiment among staff, patrons, citizens toward Spanman and/or parts of his program now had received forceful spokesmen within the school Board.

Differentiated staffing received considerable debate in the "Basis for Allotment of Teaching Positions." Particularly questioned were two sentences from the general provisions:

> In addition, a principal at his discretion and with the approval of the Superintendent may employ noncertificated personnel in lieu of certificated personnel. The number of noncertificated personnel shall be based on the average beginning salary of certificated personnel.
> (Policy #5826, June 1965)

The nay sayers were Wilkerson and Reeves.

The final item at that meeting, just before adjournment at 5:35 A.M. was a vote for a new three year contract for Dr. Spanman at a salary of $20,000/year The 4-2 split remained on the lines of the previous votes. The minority included Wilkerson and Reeves.

After reviewing the progress of events in late Spring and early Summer, the special meeting of the Board on July 6th, 1965 was almost anti climatic. Superintendent Spanman had been invited to participate in a prestigious fellowship program and he requested a year's leave of absence. His letter followed the pattern of his agenda items: the opportunities, the purposes and rationale, the honor to the individual and to the organization, and the beneficial outcomes to both. The three purposes of the Fellowship capture both the flavor and flair:

> 1) To provide the experienced educator with an opportunity to leave the detail of local activities and problems for a year and come to see them within a broader context.
> 2) To bring fresh viewpoints to the senior staff of participating agencies and to establish a continuing relationship between the associations and future leaders of American education.
> 3) To return the participants of the program to their local communities with new techniques, workable solutions, and fresh perspective to offer to their work and their colleagues. (6/6/65)

The Board voted 4-2 to grant the leave; the nay sayers again were Wilkerson and Reeves. The item concluded with:

> Mr. Wilkerson requested that the minutes show that his reason for voting "no" was that he preferred the Superintendent's resignation rather than granting a leave of absence. (6/6/65)

With those wishes and sentiments, Dr. Spanman left the District temporarily. He was not to return.

The Final Year, IV: Acting Superintendent Alan Ranson

Apparently, the Assistant Superintendent for Business Affairs, Mr. Alan Ranson was felt to be the Superintendent's man. On the same split, 4-2 vote he became Acting Superintendent, effective September 11, 1965. It seemed to be an issue of beliefs for Jerl Cohen became Assistant Superintendent for Instruction on a 4-2 vote, and Tom Mack, the Kensington Curriculum Material Coordinator became an elementary principal, also on a 4-2 vote. In August Jerl Cohen resigned. He was replaced by Mr. Jim Luther, whose sabbatical leave to finish a Ph.D. was deferred for a year.

The strand of localism, if it be that, was construed quite narrowly. A Central City committee working toward alternative tax structures for the metropolitan area was given a 3-2 (Wilkerson was ill) rejection. Their proposals for an income or sales tax, to relieve the strain on the local property tax, did not sit well with the Milford Board. The Yea votes came from Harcourt and Henderson, the core supporters of the now absent Steven Spanman. During the next few months letters from several Boards of Education in Suburban County were received supporting the task force's recommendations. On November 23rd, the Board voted unanimously to support the recommendations.

An informational item on the establishment of a county-wide vocational/technical school appeared. The Board took no action, but the citizenry of Suburban County was moving toward a solution of one of its longest standing secondary education problems, just as they had a few years earlier moved toward a county solution of the special education problems.

The population crunch in Milford was now more at the Junior High School level. The Board voted unanimously three interrelated motions:

1) retain the K-6-3-3 concept
2) go on double sessions in the two junior high schools
3) voted a $1.8 million bond issue for junior and senior high classrooms

Building problems, that is the housing of students, occur in several forms--too many or too few, too many or too few at varying grade levels, too many or too few occurring sequentially, and too many or too few in different geographical areas of the district.

The Board received and read a letter from the Grand Knight of the local Knights of Columbus organization indicating its opposition to any new forms of school tax, income or sales:

> ...which do not allow distribution of such funds for the educational benefits of all children, regardless of school attended, whether public, private or parochial... (12/22/65)

The First Amendment and its interpretations by the courts and by sub groups of citizens also would not go away. Compromises were (are) difficult to achieve. The sentiments of pluralism are not always positive and mutually supportive. Both public school boards and parochial boards presumably live with resolutions which are less than optimal.

In late Winter and early Spring, a series of personnel dominoes fell. Mr. Shelby resigned as Principal of the Kensington School. Such a resignation, mid semester, is a rare event. Shortly thereafter the Board took action:

> Mr. Reeves moved that the Board of Education reassign Mr. John Edwards to the Kensington Elementary School as Principal, effective Wednesday, March 9, 1966, and that Dr. Ronald George be assigned as Principal of Field Elementary School until July 1, 1966, with a one month's extenion of his contract period, effective Wednesday, March 9, 1966.

Mr. Wilkerson seconded the motion, it passed unanimously. The dissenting duo on the Board were now moving affirmatively and carrying the votes on the Board.

4.3 Conclusion: School Chaos, Superintendent Vulnerability or Political Democracy?, the April and May, 1966 Period

Most times we have found it reasonably easy to sort the tangle of school events into themes, strands, and categories. Meanings in the perspectives of the key actors or in our own accumulating point of view seemed reasonably straight forward. The events of April and May, 1966 reflected so many endings and beginnings, so many issues and so many perplexing differences of opinion and shifting alliances that we finally settled for a general heading, "School Chaos, Vulnerability, or Political Democracy?" Our first cut will be to establish a set of facts, reasonably agreed upon items. They seem to defy any simple patterning. Then we will try for several generalizations.

First, the Board met in regular and special session, five times each month, a total of ten meetings. For Milford this was a record. More meetings than at any time in the previous fifty years. The meaning is less clear.

Second, on the morning of April 5th, the day of the school board elections, the Superintendent requested a release from his contract. The telegram appears as Figure 13.

Insert Figure 13 About Here

Mr. Henderson, one of Spanman's supporters, made the motion to accept the resignation. Mr. Reeves, one of his opponents, seconded the motion. The Board unanimously voted to accept the resignation.

Martin Ludwig 1966 APR 5 A.M. 8:23

Have been reassigned to Division Director responsibility. Respectfully request release from contract today to continue in assignment. Opportunity to work with forward looking progressive board has been highlight of career. After visiting scores of boards across the nation in recent months am convinced yours ranks in top five percent. You are to be commended for establishing and achieving high standards.

Respectfully,
Steven Spanman

Figure 13: Telegram from Superintendent

Third, the Board usually stayed late and awaited the unofficial voting returns on the night of the election. On this occasion they adjourned early--9:45 P.M.

Fourth, a number of items were attended to, e.g. the final bills to the architect and cabinetry contractor of the Kensington School were paid.

Fifth, Mr. Tittle resigned as Treasurer of the Board. Two days later, he ranked third in the group of seven in the Board election. Consequently, he lost his seat.

Sixth, the Board reconsidered an earlier, March 16 vote and accepted unanimously the resignation of the High School Principal, Joe James.

Two days later, on Thursday, April 7th, the Board received the official election returns. The President, Mr. Ludwig, had decided not to run again. Mr. Tittle, one of Spanman's supporters ran third in a seven person group. Mr. Tuley and Mr. Edmond were declared elected and were sworn in. In addition, the minimum teacher's levy, which required only a simple majority, was declared passed.

Then, Mr. Henderson, also a key supporter of Dr. Spanman, read a short one line letter addressed to his colleagues on the Board:

> I herewith tender my resignation as Director and Secretary of the Milford School Board effective May 1, 1966. (4/7/66)

Immediately thereafter, Mrs. Harcourt's letter was read:

> ...informing the present and new members of the Board of Education that she had changed her decision to resign as a member of the Board and she would continue... (4/7/66)

Her letter is included as Figure 14. It captures some of the intensity of feeling existing in the Board, in the community, and among the school staff.

Insert Figure 14 About Here

In a retrospective comment one long time member of the Milford School professional staff described her as "in Spanman's pocket on any vote."

Then the Board proceeded as usual to elect one of its members as President. The two members of the prior Board, Wilkerson and Reeves, who had voted together consistently in opposition to the Spanman program, were each nominated for President. The vote split 3-3. While no roll call is taken on these votes, a later motion to seek nominations for Vice President also resulted in a 3-3 tie. The nay's were:

Harcourt
Reeves
Henderson

The ayes were:

Edmond
Wilkerson
Tuley

In effect, the two new members were supporting the originally sole opponent to Spanman. He had been Board President before and had resigned

April 7, 1966

To the present members and to the new members of the Board of Education in the Milford School District:

On April 5th, 1966, I indicated my resignation from the Board would be forthcoming in a matter of days. At this time I should like to state, for reasons contained in this letter, that I have changed my decision and shall remain a part of this Board of Education for the duration of my term, subject to the limits of my physical and mental strength.

First, because it is my sincere desire to continue to assist in providing the best education for all children.

Second, regardless of my personal feelings and attitudes, I shall continue to uphold within this School District the educational progress so clearly evident during the past four years.

Third, for the many people who have placed their confidence in me, I shall continue exerting every effort in taking the initiative to inform and alert all persons concerning, not only our schools but, all phases of education.

Fourth, because I believe in the leadership and integrity displayed by certain persons on this Board and in this School District, I feel obligated to fulfill my responsibility.

I should like to express my sincere appreciation to the personal courtesy shown to me by the members now leaving the Board and by the personnel who have left or shall be leaving the School District, also to those who, with an honest dedication toward the best education for all children, shall remain.

Upon due consideration it is against my better judgment to admit, for selfish reasons, that a discontinuation in my efforts to uphold the principles for which I believe, would constitute a personal satisfactory solution to anything.

Therefore, it is my decision to continue to be a member of the Board of Education in the School District of Milford.

Sincerely,

Harriet Harcourt

cc: All members of the Staff
All teaching personnel

Figure 14: A Board Member's Letter

as President in an October showdown between himself and the Superintendent. The inference we might draw is that the two new members represented a strong conservative move in the community.

The Board went through five tie votes and finally agreed to meet the next evening, Friday, at 9:30 P.M. The Thursday night meeting adjourned at 12:15 A.M.

On Friday the 8th, the Board met at 9:30. A sixth vote was taken, the 3-3 tie remained. Discussion was called for. No discussion followed. A ten minute recess was called at 10:00 P.M. Executive session was declared at 10:10 P.M. Open session was reconvened at 10:40 P.M.:

> ...at which time both Mr. Wilkerson and Mr. Reeves withdrew their names for nomination of President of the Board of Education. (4/8/66)

From then on, the compromise which apparently had been agreed upon moved rapidly. A series of unanimous votes resulted in:

Mr. Edmond	President
Mrs. Harcourt	Vice President
Mr. Tuley	Treasurer
Mr. Reeves	Secretary

The positions were split between the factions. Each nomination was made by a member of the opposing faction. The meeting adjourned at 10:50 P.M.

On April 20th, at 8:00, as agreed upon earlier, the Board met in special session to meet with the architects regarding additions to the Junior and Senior High Schools. New housing was required for the bulge in students now moving up the grades. The architects were from the local metropolitan area, rather than from out of state, as in the instance of Kensington. Plans were accepted, bids for equipment were to be sought. All votes were unanimous. The meeting adjourned at 11:00 P.M.

At the regular meeting on April 26th, Mr. Henderson's resignation was accepted, unanimously. It was dated May 1st. A dozen items of "normal business" moved rapidly through a series of unanimous decisions. At 11:30, while in executive session, unanimity fell away over the issue of "action on present administrators contracts." The new conservative coalition wanted to table the issue until the May 10th meeting. The old 3-3 coalition appeared; the motion failed. Most of the votes were unanimous and favorable. Mrs. Harcourt voted against two elementary principals because of "lack of cooperation in the educational program of the District."

The appointments of Mr. Newton to continue as Junior High Principal and Mr. Overholt, a long term teacher and Assistant Principal at the High School, to become Senior High School Principal were stymied by 3-3 votes. The nays were from the new conservative coalition. Both were recommended by the Acting Superintendent, Mr. Ranson. Among the other positions open were Assistant Principals of each Junior High School and a new position as "Cordinator of Governmental Programs and Adult Education."

The Acting Superintendent presented letters from five citizens desiring consideration as a Board member to fill the unexpired term of Mr. Henderson. The Board met in special session on Saturday morning, May 7th, at 9:30. Mrs. Harcourt's nominees was defeated 2-3. Mr. Wilkerson's candidate, Mr. Greider, was elected on a 4-1 vote. Presumably Mr. Reeves rejoined the conservative coalition. The policy, based on State Law, that the Board replace its resigned member is another mechanism underlying the iron law of oligarchy.

On May 10th the Board held its regular meeting. The controversy regarding the appointments of principals for the Junior and Senior High Schools appeared in several items. A letter from a citizen, alleging representing community feeling regarding the high school principalship, requested an appearance before the Board. Another citizen presented a petition containing 1,156 signatures supporting Mr. Overholt for High School Principal. A petition signed by 63 of the High School teachers supported Mr. Overholt. The key paragraph in their petition stated:

> We have worked under his supervision this year and feel his leadership, administrative ability and integrity has been a great influence on the teaching staff at Milford High School. With his vast experience as Assistant Principal and supervisor of all the faculty and student body, he will give the leadership you most rightfully want at the Senior High School.
> (5/10/66)

The teachers at the Junior High School also rallied to the support of their Principal in a letter to the Board:

> We, the teachers of the Junior High School, have been informed that Mr. Newton, our Principal, was told that his contract has not been extended due to poor discipline in our building. We feel that discipline in our school is to be commended, especially under the crowded conditions.
>
> A majority of the teachers feel that Mr. Newton has been instrumental in promoting the pleasant atmosphere and high morale. Therefore, we find the report difficult to understand.
> (5/5/66)

These citizen and faculty petitions led the Board President, Mr. Edmond, to issue a formal statement:

> As President of the Milford School Board, my only interest is in the upgrading of our educational program so that the children of this district will receive the best possible education that we can provide within the limits of our budget.
>
> In voting on any issue I am not committed to anyone either on this Board or outside it. I will judge each issue on its merits. Where teachers and administrators have the educational qualifications for a position and have shown an active interest in the betterment of our schools and themselves by advanced study, self-improvement, and presenting themselves as persons dedicated to their profession by their speech and actions; these factors alone should be the only influence on the minds of the members sitting on this Board who have taken the oath to serve this district and represent everyone in it, whether they be in the minority or the majority. I do not approve of any expression by a Board member that would indicate representation of either a minority or a majority, as we on this Board are elected to represent the whole district and should be dedicated to the children striving for an education within it. (5/10/66)

Just before adjournment at 12:40 A.M., the Board agreed to meet on Saturday, May 14th, "for the purpose of electing a Senior High School Principal."

On Saturday morning, May 14th, in an hour and fifteen minute meeting, with a series of 4-2 votes, the new conservative coalition:

1) Voted not to make Mr. Overholt Principal of the High School but did make him Principal of the Junior High School on a two year contract.
2) Moved the Junior High Principal to the new post of Coordinator of Governmental Programs on a two year contract.
3) Elected Mr. Simons to a one year contract. His salary was indexed at 1.4 less that the 1.5 at the Junior High and the 1.45 for the Central Office post.

The regular meeting of Tuesday, May 24th was just that. Bills were paid, architectural plans moved forward, resolutions of appreciation for the recently departed Board members was made and passed, a contract was let for re-roofing one of the buildings, and so on. Three Assistant Principals were offered contracts. Late in the evening the President called for a special meeting three days later:

> ...for the purpose of interviewing candidates for the superintendency. (5/24/66)

The tenth and last meeting of the busy two month period occurred Friday evening, May 27th, at 8:00 P.M. The Board had received applications from five individuals from outside the District. None of these made the short list to be interviewed. The four internal candidates were:

1) Mr. Ranson, currently Acting Superintendent
2) Mr. Eastman, long term teacher/administrator, formerly high school principal, currently central office administrative director of school organization.
3) Mr. Eads, long term teacher/administrator, currently principal and director of maintenance.
4) Dr. Ronald George, former teacher/CTA president, recently made elementary principal.

After a series of individual interviews and discussions, Mrs. Harcourt moved that Mr. Ranson be appointed. The motion lost 2-4. Then:

> Mr. Wilkerson moved that Dr. Ronald George be appointed Superintendent, effective July 1, 1966, for a period of one year at a salary of $16,750. Mr. Tuley seconded the motion. (5/27/66)

The motion carried 4-2. The new conservative coalition had started a new era, an era which lasts until today.

It seemed a far cry from the resolution four years before, that is:

> ...Ronald George, not be re-employed for the school year 1962-63, because of his contemptuous attitude toward Board members, his irrational behavior in public, and his totally unprofessional behavior... (4/10/62)

The threads that hold social structures together and the slight if not chance events that determine large sequences of events are reflected in Mr. Wilkerson, a supporter of Mr. George in 1962, was the only Board member from the earlier time. He nominated George for Superintendent. Just a month before, Mr. Henderson had resigned from the Board. In 1962 he had voted to fire Mr. George.

Our story has come full circle. A highly critical Board had voted to fire Superintendent McBride in 1961. A large and bitter fight occurred. Ron George, a junior high social studies teacher and President of the CTA, backed McBride and brought an NEA committee into the District. This earned him the wrath of the innovative Board and almost cost him his job. These activities and interactions led to outside consultants, a more cosmopolitan short list and the hiring of Steven Spanman, Superintendent, "a man who could talk the birds out of the trees." The District was jolted differently, that is innovatively. To the majority it was a forward and better movement; to others it was ill advised. The community patrons were increasingly in the group perceiving the changes as "ill advised." The Board changed by votes and by resignations. The 4-2 majority eventually became a 2-4 minority. Is our episode one of school chaos, vulnerability, or political democracy?

5. INITIATING THE INNOVATIVE KENSINGTON SCHOOL

5.1 Introduction

School Superintendent Steven Spanman's story has now been told. And a provocative story it was. Although further implications and interpretations explode in multiple directions--strategies and tactics of innovation and change, political models of schooling, or professional careers in public education, for instance, these must wait. The initial raison d'etre for the story and preliminary interpretations was an understanding of the Kensington School. Even that involved a shift in research focus from the original "How has the school changed in the fifteen years from 1964 to 1979?" to "Why was such an innovative school built at this time in Milford?" This latter question has merged into a third question, "Just how was the building of Kensington accomplished?"

In a fundamental sense, our section headings denote themes basic to such understanding. At a newer level, "the tangle of administrative succession" related the turmoil in Milford, the key actors, their sentiments, their interactions and their decisions. Similarly, "the beginning conceptualization of Spanman's role as Superintendent "indicated his proactive, cosmopolitan, imaginative educator style which defined, for a brief period of time, the nature of schooling in Milford. Finally, we labeled our vignette on Spanman's departure as an unanswered question, "School chaos, superintendent vulnerability, or political democracy?" Although we did not answer the question our intent remains provocative, not rhetorical. In part, that question leads us toward the later changes in the Kensington School, and, therefore back to our original question on the nature of the changes in Kensington between 1964 and 1979.

The educational literature presents few accounts detailing organizational events in the building of a new school.[9] Because of this it remains difficult to conceptualize much less judge either the process or product in building schools in any district. Consequently, we present the Spanman/Milford/Kensington account both in some detail and in an essentially naturalistic form. Our discussion so far suggests the more general perspective guiding our account.

In the decade before Spanman's arrival the District had built a dozen schools to accommodate the post World War II population explosion and suburbanization. That growth was continuing, although at a decelerated rate. The potency of demographic shifts in promoting school change runs all through our analysis. In this instance, the point seems obvious, as hundreds of additional children appear at the school's doorstep something must be done. The "something" however is or can be problematic. Spanman's arrival made a difference. In our introduction to him and his first Board meeting four items were clear. First, he had a point of view about how such events should go. Secondly, he knew a number of people and organizations who might serve as resources in a school building effort. Third, he put part of the plan and the contacts in motion before he arrived in Milford. And, fourth, at the first Board meetings, perhaps as part of any political and organizational honeymoon, he was able to persuade the Board to approve his recommendations. In our view that is a powerful initial stance.

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[9] This literature is gowing; perhaps the most recent addition is Gold and Miles (1981) Whose School Is It, Anyway?

Once again, we return to an historical, chronological format to present the basic events and to begin the interpretation a year by year set of units correlates nicely with planning (1962-63), building (1963-64), opening (1964-65), and "ending the beginning" (1965-66). These four units coincide with Spanman's four years in the District.

5.2 Planning the School: The First Year, 1962-63

The Board interviewed five architectural firms regarding the proposed building. One of these was the company which had been involved in the design of almost all the buildings built in the District in recent years. A second was a small new company headed by an architect who had worked for the first company, but who had recently opened his own firm in a nearby suburban community. He, too, was known to the Board. Two others were local firms, a final one was from a nearby state.

On September 25th, the XXVIII item, "Employment of Architect" on a 27 page agenda raised the architect issue again. The Superintendent's statement reflects his ability to move the District in ways he believed the District should go. We cite the two pages at considerable length:

> One of the most important tasks of the Board of Education in constructing a new building is the selection of an architect. After the Board of Education and the school staff have decided what they want in terms of spaces, sizes, relationship of spaces, and other important features of the proposed school, it is the architect who transforms all of these ideas into a functional, attractive, economical, easily maintained, and desirable building.

Steps in selecting an architect were approved by the Board of Education at its regular meeting on August 28, 1962. These steps, outlined in the Board agenda item No. 18, p. 14, August, 1962, meeting have been completed with the exception of making the final decision, VIZ., 1) the intention of the District to employ an architect has been publicized, 2) the staff has selected five architects to be interviewed by the Board, 3) the Board has reviewed the qualifications, and 4) has interviewed candidates.

The administrative staff is in the process of evaluating very carefully all of the information submitted by the architects in writing or during presentation before the Board of Education with a view toward submitting a recommendation to the Board of Education at an early date. To guide the staff in its recommendation, the following criteria are being used:

The staff is interested in an architect who,

1) Has a thorough knowledge of school building design, economical construction methods of school facilities, and the efficient use of building materials used in school construction;

2) Has reflected by his building design in recent construction that he is endowed with creative ability and artistic talents;

3) Has the ability to work co-operatively with school staff;

4) Has indicated through previous designs that he has explored new ideas and suggestions in school building construction for possible incorporation in the plans;

5) Is willing and able to follow educational specifications in designing a school;

6) Is able to develop final working drawings and structural specifications clear and free from ambiguity;

7) Conducts himself at a high professional level with dignity, integrity, and honesty;

8) Has been successful in the supervision of building construction.

Prior to making a recommendation, it is suggested that the Board of Education and members of the administrative staff visit several buildings designed by the architects in question. During these visits, it will be possible for members of the Board and staff to obtain some of the answers to questions listed above by discussing them with superintendents of schools and members of boards of education to whom the architects have rendered their services.

> It is the opinion of the staff that the amount and quality of supervision offered by an architect is of great importance. By visiting several buildings designed by an architect, it will be possible to ascertain the degree of supervision offered by the architect while the building was or is under construction. In addition, a visit will make it possible to see to what extent the building design fits the functions planned for the school.
>
> It is the recommendation of the staff that members of the Board of Education and the administrative staff visit several school buildings designed by the William Thompson Company prior to making a decision about an architect for the Kensington Elementary School. The Architectural Design Institute is vitally interested in the Board of Education visiting buildings designed by several architects and has agreed to provide $300.00 for these visits.

The final comments in the agenda were specific arrangements for the six Board members and two administrative staff to fly to a neighboring state to visit two communities during two days (Sunday and Monday) within the next week. Mr. Thompson would meet them and accompany them on their building tour. The statement concluded with an action recommendation:

> Recommendation: It is recommended that funds in excess of $300.00 be made available for members of the Board of Education and two members of the administrative staff to visit several buildings designed by the William Thompson Company in Nebraska.

A motion on the recommendation was passed unanimously.

Parenthetically, we note once again Spanman's cognitive style. 1) It has a process quality, that is, it's linear and sequential, it is undergirded with a time line. 2) It is "chunked" into sensible, workable units, tasks, or events. 3) It assigns responsibility to clearly defined organizational units or individuals, e.g. the Board does this, the staff does that, and then the architect does his thing. 4) Earlier events are hooked into the chain and later, 5) Data in the form of direct personal observation and testimony of users and practitioners buttresses the line of argument. 6) A variety of additional activities --reminding, monitoring, adjusting, coordinating, and persuading--seem to play off the basic thrust. 7) In a sense his head seems to be composed of multiple, interlocking strands, flow charts, or PERT diagrams. In this instance it's building a school.

In conclusion, it seems safe to say that the cognitive style exemplified in building a school is litle different in the cognitive style in other aspects of administering a school system.

At the October 9th Board meeting, the Board voted 5-1 (only Mr. Quigley disagreeing) to award the contract to Thompson's company with Needles and Ernhart, a local firm used before, as associate architects. The meeting concluded at midnight.

Two weeks later, the Board approved add-on expenses for the Superintendenc for an extra day on a scheduled trip so he could visit the offices of the Olds Foundation and the Architectural Design Institute (ADI) to inquire regarding further resources related to the building of the Kensington School. The basic travel expenses were being paid by a corporation which had invited him to speak on technology and education. The agenda notes phrased the add-on visit this way:

> The aim of ADI is to further the more efficient construction and use of school buildings and equipment. It supports research, assists in the achievement of school building designs that will serve as a laboratory and dissemination project, and acts as a national information center in the field of educational facilities. One of the organization's functions is helping to establish modern school buildings capable of housing new modes of learning.

> The Milford School District is now benefiting from one grant in the amount of approximately $7,000 from ADI. This initial grant was received for the purpose of helping develop the district educational specifications and architectural plans for the new Kensington School.
>
> To assist in additional planning and to help train teachers to use the teaching methods to be implemented in this new school, additional funds would be needed. (10/23/62)

In November the Director of ADI presented a progress report to the Board on the educational specifications for the new elementary school. The Superintendent's agenda spoke to this item:

> IX *Progress Report on Development of Educational Specifications for Kensington Elementary School*[10]
>
> The committee of teachers and administrators under the chairmanship of the Supervisory Principal of Elementary Schools has made excellent progress in developing the educational specifications for the new elementary school. The committee has completed the first phase of its work, namely, the development of general purposes of education which include more specifics of objectives and outcomes, discernible trends in education, activities, and different group sizes. *The group has tentatively committed itself to a program which would involve the elimination of grade labels, the optimum use of cooperative teaching procedures and the development of a materials resource center*. (Our Italics) (11/27/62)

The ideology of what was to become Kensington's official doctrine was well underway.

"Traditional"'s meaning refers to basic beliefs and practices handed down from ones predecessors, its basic antonym is "non traditional." But non traditional seems to have a number of only partially overlapping synonyms. Spanman, here, exhibits a position that carries a little of non traditional characterized by experimental, innovative, modern, unusual, or different. These apply both to the content and process of the building he--and the district--are building.

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[10] The school received its name later. Our use here is for clarity and continuity.

Along the way, the mundane issue of preparing for a bond campaign occurred as well. Property trading with subdivision developers for a better site for Kensington also was underway.

An issue, initially unrelated to the building of Kensington was an item raised by the Superintendent, and discussed and finally passed (5-1, Quigley voting "No") that the district provide $3,000 (approximately half a teacher's salary) for a sabbatical type research grant. Later Mr. Joe Jerman became the first recipient in 1963-64:

> ...for the purpose of making an investigation and report of an educational problem; that the Board specifically outline the scope of the problem, after consultation with the Superintendent... (12/11/62)

Internal resources were being marshalled for self understanding of District efforts.

A consultant report added data regarding school population trends over the past decade:

1952	2054
53	2639
54	3432
55	4191
56	4875
57	5412
58	6092
59	6610
1960	7114
61	7524
62	8093

Most of the new growth was to be in the Western half of the district and the need for two new elementary schools was apparent. Crowding was hurting particularly kindergartens, music, libraries, and special education. The Kensington School would help solve these problems.

In January 1963, the Bond issue passed 2553 to 873. The Board unanimously adopted the Bond resolution and unanimously voted to send letters of thanks and appreciation for all those who helped. However, the Board split 4-2 on the authorization to sign a contract with the William Thompson architectural firm. The split was along familiar lines:

For: Tompkins, Osborn, Henderson, and Baskin
Against: Quigley and Wilkerson

Quigley, a long term member and former President of the Board had fought with Tompkins some years before--to the point of a law suit. Wilkerson had resigned as Board President in a showdown with Spanman earlier in the year.

In February of 1963 the tempo increased another notch. Several items appeared in the notes:

1) The Building Specifications were completed, presented by the ADI consultant, and accepted by the Board for further study.
2) The Board moved along the particulars for the Bond sale.
3) The Board authorized the architects to proceed.

And in two separate items which passed unanimously:

4) Mr. Wilkerson moved that the Board direct the architects to incorporate in the Kensington Elementary School plans

> the physical education shelter as presented with an alternative sketch showing the physical education shelter enclosed....
>
> 5) Mr. Osborn moved that the Board direct the architects to include in the Kensington Elementary School plans an alternative kitchen plan to be submitted in connection with the closed physical education shelter area. (12/12/63)

In April the Board decided on the open shelter and a slight modification in the kitchen. The minority opinions had been heard but were not convincing--at this time.

In the naming of the new elementary school part of the rationale appeared in one long sentence:

> Inasmuch as the District is committed to the philosophy of the neighborhood elementary school ranging in size from 400 to 600 pupils, it is suggested that the names of the school be such as to designate the area served. (5/14/63)

A committee of citizens, parents, and teachers produced a list of five names and tentatively settled on "Southland". The Board had started with Southwinds. Then tried Heatherland before settling on Kensington.

May saw also the addition of two major figures to the Kensington/Milford effort. Eugene Shelby was hired as Principal of the Marquette School and Jerl Cohen came to the central office as "Guidance-Curriculum Consultant." Shelby was an earlier acquaintance and colleague from the same part of the country as Spanman. Cohen came from a nearby district, but prior to that he had taken his degree from a prestigious university and was a student of one of Spanman's national consultants. With these appointments, Spanman had his core lieutenants in place.

The plans for the school merged with district plans in several ways. The Board accepted the Superintendent's proposal to pay tuition expenses for three staff members--a teacher, a principal, and a curriculum consultant--to attend a summer institute on team teaching and non graded education. One of the university instructors had been consulting with the District. A major plan for "curriculum improvement and development" had a central component in "inservice education." Early school dismissals on Wednesdays was part of the projected effort for inservice staff development.

The plan for the construction of the Kensington School between September 13, 1963 when bids were to be opened and August 17, 1964 when "occupancy by owner" was to occur appeared as a "Critical Path Plan for Construction." This 16 step sequence was bound as an appendix with the Board minutes.

Late in the year, several personnel appointments were made. John Taylor, the P.E. teacher was granted a leave of absence for doctoral study. He would return to Kensington the next year. Jean Emerson came "highly recommended" as an "outstanding candidate" with an M.A. and two years experience. Meg Adrian came with an M.A., five years of experience and a reputation as "an exceptionally competent teacher." From across the midwest the new Superintendent was gathering teaching staff as well as hiring key administrators.[11]

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[11] More detailed accounts of these individuals as teachers appear in Anatomy of Educational Innovation (Smith and Keith, 1971). Career and life history data appear in Volume V, Innovators Then and Now (Smith and Kleine, 1982).

During the Summer of 1963, the last of the property needed for Kensington was purchased. The schedule was tight but the project was moving.

5.3 Building Kensington: The Second Year, 1963-64

The events in the modified PERT chart began to unfold. Reports and motions regarding the architects and contractors filtered into the life of the Board whenever official action was required. The contract for the new school was awarded at a special meeting of the Board on September 25, 1963. The total contract was slightly over a million, one hundren thousand, ($1,146,449.00). The vote was unanimous.

In October two items were discussed which had social and political ramifications of major consequences. The first seemed simple; it was Item XI in the Superintendent's agenda:

> The contract for the new elementary building calls for the installation of infra-red gas heaters in the physical education and community activities play shelters. Because of the northwesterly exposure of the Kensington shelter, it is recommended that infra-red gas heaters be placed in the Kensington Elementary School shelter. (10/22/63)

This was the first item in a long series that would consolidate most of the new physical and educational resources, new teachers, a Spanman appointed principal at Kensington, and a district change strategy into the new school. Other schools and their needs would have to wait. Promoting inequality among professional peers has its hazards. Smith and Keith (1971) speak to a number of these issues.

A second item (#XVI) at that same time implied a whole series of social events related to the new building; it was titled "Architects, School Officials, and Contractor to Develop Valid Cost Figures for New School." While money was never an object for the Superintendent, as our Chronicle in Volume I indicates, it was a key item for many citizens. Here is the Superintendent's statement in toto:

> Past experience in the District has provided ample evidence that it is a complex matter to make fair comparisons of schools built in different locations in the District at different times for different educational programs and of different material, equipment, and construction quality levels. Many variables in school house construction make it difficult to establish a reasonable degree of uniformity of measurement.
>
> In an attempt to establish some degree of uniformity of measurement, two national organizations have published documents outlining methods for determining the area and volume of buildings. The American Institute of Architects and the American Standards Association have developed two statements which are quite similar in their broader aspects.
>
> However, there are enough unlikenesses to make a significant difference in approaches to computing gross area which reflect adversely on one or the other of the buildings being compared and in effect invalidate any conclusions drawn from such comparisons.
>
> This explains the reasons why school cost comparisons have been misleading; that is, there has been no standard accepted basis for computing square or cubic feet, number of classrooms or pupil capacity and little agreement as to use of even poor data.
>
> In an attempt to overcome some of these difficulties relating to the cost of the new elementary schools, the architects, district officials, and general contractor are in the process of working together to provide valid cost comparisons for the schools. It is hoped that these data will make it possible to provide better insights into expenditures and aid in making estimates and decisions in future planning.
>
> Comparison of building costs made without regard for basic facts may be misleading, confusing, and injurious to sane and economical school building planning and construction. It is felt that because of the complex nature of computing unit costs, indiscriminate comparisons of such costs should not be flagrantly made.

> It is the opinion of the staff that loose and misleading comparisons of unit costs divert attention from the more useful evaluation of a building on the basis of its own needs.
>
> If the Board and its teaching staff have thoughtfully prepared educational specifications; if the architects have carefully prepared designs not only to satisfy these educational requirements but also to meet the requirements of economy of maintenance and operation with due respect for the budget; and if the finished product has provided pupils and teachers with a building which is at once spaciously adequate and environmentally satisfying, then our patrons will know that they have received good measure and will have no occasion to employ the questionable device of unit cost comparison either--"to point with pride" or "to view with alarm."

The last sentence seems to indicate the problem facing the Superintendent and the Board. Whether the preceding is rationale, rationalization or both we hold open for the moment. Without question, so it seems to us, the statement raises both critical issues of complexity and cloaks them in a language of propaganda appeals. We are reminded of the complexities in artistic and aesthetic criticism (Scriven, 1966) and the revolt among some educational evaluators over too simple paradigms (Hamilton, et. al. 1977).

In November another small item arose in a motion and an amendment. The motion stated:

> Mr. Henderson moved that the administration be authorized to investigate and make a preliminary study of placing carpeting at a reduced cost at the new elementary school. Mr. Tittle seconded the motion.

The amendment added:

> ...and the administration be authorized to tentatively accept the offer of National Carpet Corporation to place synthetic carpeting in the new elementary school at a cost not to exceed the amount of labor and tile floor materials included in the contract...

The vote on the amended motion passed unanimously.

In mid winter (1/28), the Board agreed to a 30 day time extension on the building. Soil problems were appearing and weather was bad, the coldest in years. In February an additional set of delays were authorized because of building permits and approval of sewer plans. Although the label was not used in Milford, "slipping the schedule" is a widely occurring phenomenon which often accumulates very troubling consequences.

During the Spring bids were requested for "cabinetry, classroom furniture, and equipment" for the new school. A stream of "change orders", slight variations in plans for construction, passed through the Board as work progressed and minor alterations seem feasible.

In April, seven more of the Kensington teachers were hired. In succeeding months remaining staff were hired. Several (4) of the first year teachers already were employed by the District and working with Mr. Shelby who was in his first year of tenure in the District as Principal of the Marquette School.

Attached to the June 9, 1964 minutes was a four, single spaced, typed copy of a contract with Visual Products Corporation. The contract involved a loan and purchase agreement. Royalties from production and sale of curriculum materials would purchase a dozen overhead projectors for the Kensington School. Explicitly it was anticipated that the staff's curriculum development efforts would culminate in products usable by other districts when produced and sold by Visual Products Corporation. The Board unanimously approved the agreement on August 25, 1964.[12]

5.4 Opening Kensington: The Third Year, 1964-65

The calendar has a relentless quality. Months and years proceed in regular faultless fashion. Human events are more erratic and episodic. On August 25, 1964 the Board approved the minutes of the June 23rd and June 26th meetings. They then set a midnite time limit on the meeting. They then charged into their 18 item agenda. Adjournment occurred at 11:59 P.M. Among the Kensington Items, the Board:

1) Agreed to another 12 days delay in construction
2) Agreed to several change orders--e.g. spray glaze finish on play shelter wall--$17.00
3) Mrs. Harcourt moved that Proposal #S-389-64 attached as Appendix "E", to study and evaluate the new elementary school building and program submitted to the U. S. Office of Education be approved. Mr. Tittle seconded the motion and it carried unanimously
4) Approved the contract between Visual Products Corporation and the District
5) Agreed to carpet the Kensington School "providing the manufacturers contribute two-thirds of the cost and the School District contributes one-third of the cost
6) Approved contracts for additonal cabinets
7) Awarded contracts for chalk boards, tack boards, and secretarial desks
8) Approved the hiring of Tom Mack who would become the Curriculum Materials Coordinator at Kensington
9) Approved two national consultants, one, Dr. Maynard Cook to work at the District level and one, Dr. Leslie Roberts to work with the Kensington teachers.

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[12] Increasingly our story here anticipates the lengthy account published as Anatomy of Educational Innovation (Smith and Keith, 1971).

From the concrete particulars of spray glaxing walls to a study and evaluation supported by the Office of Education to the hiring of two nationally prominent consultants, the Kensington School continued on its way.

As represented in Item 3, this was the formal point of entry of Smith as researcher into the District. The Superintendent's agenda phrased it this way:

> Approval of Contract with City University and U. S. Office of Education Requested.
>
> Members of the staff have requested assistance from the U. S. Office of Education through City University in evaluating the extent to which the unique but functional design of the new elementary schools improves the learning of boys and girls. The staff is interested in identifying the improvements which occur in a rather movel situation.
>
> The research will be conducted during the 1964-65 school year at the Kensington Elementary School. Dr. Louis Smith, Associate Professor at Washington University will be the coordinator.
>
> The U. S. Office has approved the funding of the project in the amount of $8,800. The cost to the District will be $3,000.
>
> Attached as Appendix "E", pages 1-8, is a copy of the proposal to the U. S. Office of Education outlining the Study.
>
> > Recommendation: It is recommended that the proposal to study and evaluate the new elementary school building and program submitted to the U. S. Office of Education be approved. (8/25/64)

And so it was. Many years later it was strange to see and read the document typed and presented in toto, a part of the District's permanent record.

One of the lingering questions, which we never seemed to have answered for ourselves concerned the "real" reasons the Superintendent wanted the research to be carried out. In cynical moments, we sometimes felt that he was interested in independent documentation of his program as he moved toward "fame and fortune." In more idealistic moments we felt he was interested in the improvement in knowledge about schooling. Now, in retrospect, we find ourselves as one item along with audio visual, curriculum materials development, and carpeting for the school, and we see the scope of his ideas, plans, and work over two years. "Realism" seems to be just that. He had a very comprehensive vision about schooling and how to improve it. Research and inquiry took its place among a number of mundane and important items.

For one involved so intimately with the complexities and problems in the beginning of Kensington's first year, as we reported in Anatomy of Educational Innovation, we find now that none of the early events of the school reached the Board, at least in a form worthy of a "minute." For instance, the location of the primary grades, "Basic Skills" in rooms at Milford High School, the third grade or "Transition Division" in the multi-purpose room at the Marquette School and the "Independent Study Division (ISD)", the 4-6th grade in the New Junior High gymnasium were all handled administratively. The Board dealt with "change orders" in the construction of the new building and paid "construction bills." Its other energies were absorbed by the broader community/school conflict in August and September.

Beyond these initial perceptions, the interaction of the investigator's personal knowledge from prior involvement at Kensington with his later reading of Board minutes of the 1964-65 school year left the further impression that very little of the school's day to day activities during the year reached the Board, either in the form of superintendent agenda items or as minutes formally recorded. Until March, there were only some final change orders and bills to be paid plus a resignation of two faculty members (one immediately because of marriage and one at the end of the year to return to graduate school). In March, 1965 this began to change. The Superintendent's report on District Curriculum Projects listed 15 from Kensington. The other elementary schools varied from one to seven with a median of four. Figure 15 lists those from Kensington. Kensington was indeed, a core part of the Superintendent's innovative efforts.

Insert Figure 15 About Here

Even a casual scanning of the list of project activities suggests the breadth and depth of research, development and reform. Staff reorganization, "divisions", non gradedness, and team teaching strike at the core of the organizational structure of American elementary schools. Individualization, programmed learning, inquiry materials in science, interdependent learning environments, and an instructional materials center focus on the restructuring of curriculum and teaching. The new technology--television, overhead projectors, rear screen projectors, globe and maps, and assorted sundry items--was a long way from blackboards and textbooks. It was a huge agenda for change, one we labeled "the alternative of grandeur" (Smith and Keith, 1971, p. 366).

Also in March, special attention was called to science teacher, Jack Davis', selection as one of 26 teachers nationally to work on an

Study or Program	Grade Level	Comments and How it is Being Evaluated
1. Development of school as a social system	Whole School	LMS, O.E. Grant
2. Training teachers to develop an interdependent learning environment	" "	Leslie Roberts, tape recording of instruction
3. Design for Individualized Instruction (non gradedness)	"	Staff
4. Team teaching (expanded self-contained classroom)	BSD-TD	"
5. Team teaching (differentiated roles for teachers)	ISD	"
6. Field Enterprises Educational Materials	Whole School	"
7. SRA programmed learning materials	"	"
8. Webster programmed learning materials	BSD	"
9. Elementary Science Study Unit	ISD	Jack Davis
10. Instructional Materials Center	Whole School	Staff
11. Closed circuit television	"	"
12. Individualized reading instruction	BSD	"
13. Rear screen projection	Whole School	"
14. Nystrom maps, globes, etc.	"	"
15. Carpeting	"	Midwest University

Figure 15: Innovative Projects at Kensington

Elementary Science Study (ESS) involving teacher inquiry in science. Alec Thurman offered a parents' workshop in contemporary mathematics.

Local and national publicity also began to appear as a glowing newspaper article appeared. The newspaper editor sent copies to:

> ...the President of the United States, State Superintendents of Education, presidents of the nation's leading universities, school superintendents and foundations. (3/23/64)

Awards were being won as well for design and innovative programs.

Kensington, partly because it was air conditioned, became the site for the District Elementary Summer School program. Kensington's Curriculum Materials staff member, Tom Mack, became the coordinator of the Summer program.

As we have indicated elsewhere, the Board stymied one part of the Kensington thrust when it did not support Spanman's recommendation for a cooperative program with Southern State University regarding student internships. This was the beginning of a major shift in supportiveness. It was correlated with changes on the Board.

But other resources continued to come to the school. National Testing Corporation supplied Kensington with a basic skills self instruction program at 20% the usual cost, thereby saving the District $3,000. A brief description conveys the rationale:

> Students can study the Self Instruction Materials without teacher supervision. The students can progress at his own pace. He is not under pressure to finish within a given time limit. Conversely, the student who is able to do so can progress rapidly. (4/27/65)

Tom Mack, the Instructional Materials Coordinator at Kensington was quoted in a similar vein:

> These materials will permit teachers to leave the development of certain skills largely in the hands of children and will consequently allow the teacher to spend his time working on concepts with individual pupils. (4/27/65)

These remarks are very much in keeping with what Smith and Keith earlier called the "formal doctrine" of Kensington: pupil responsibility, individualized curriculum, emphasis on conceptual learning.

The Board minutes related to the Kensington School in late Spring 1965 and Summer 1965 deal mostly with personnel. A series of resignations and new appointments occurred. Staff turnover was very high. Perhaps most significantly, Tom Mack became Principal of the Johnson School in the District.

5.5 Ending the Beginning: The Fourth Year, 1965-66

In the Autumn of 1965, Kensington continued to win national awards for building design and continued to be featured in lay and professional journals with pictures and articles. Several companies producing educational materials were granted permission to use pictures of the school in their advertising.

In two separate but related discussions, the Board moved to fill in the pond located on the Kensington School site and to sell some half dozen acres of adjacent school property. Thus parts of the science, nature study, and physical education curriculum were closed out.

The complications in gifts from suppliers received attention in the particulars of school clocks. The complications occurred in suppliers, vendors, and patrons coming together to furnish the special clocks required because of the special communications system in the school. In disentangling the issues, the Board was concerned about jeopardizing its relationships with its suppliers of food, gasoline, instructional materials, maintenance supplies, and so forth. Their rules involved competitive bids for items of specified quality. Accepting any gifts would begin a process dissolving those procedures. Donations from the patrons, an accepted practice, were received for the purchase of the clocks. Up to that time, District monies were being spent for higher priority items. Innovations and innovators, by the very nature of system linkages, cause ripples which are sometimes difficult to foresee.

A favorable 4-2 Board vote occurred when a government agency inquired about photographs to be used in articles about American schools for international distribution.

Kensington's national image was to be extended also as part of a documentary on national television. The Superintendent recommended that the District participate. The Board approved 4-2. Once again, Messers. Wilkerson and the recently elected Reeves were the nay sayers. The cosmopolitans were still in control.

Interpretively, if we needed to tie down some of our notions of nested systems and educational networks and education innovation, this set of events regarding the Documentary Film, which arose in November, seems to do it as well as any. Consider the several items mentioned in the letter from the film company's producer:

> 1) The letter was addressed to Steven Spanman, the Superintendent
> 2) The filmmaker was producing a documentary on "innovations in education"
> 3) As he said, "My visit to Kensington was inspired by a talk I had with Dr. Maynard Cook of Western University, who also helped plan my trip to other significant educational centers"
> 4) He visited Kensington and met the Principal, Mr. Shelby
> 5) "I found Kensington extremely suitable for my purpose, in that it demonstrates the use of the most advanced educational concepts, at the same time functioning within a traditional school district." (11/15/65)

Where physical and biological scientists look for "mechanisms" to indicate the causal flow of events, social and educational scientists look, more typically, for interactional structures. The network which Spanman had been a part and to which he contributed was clearly present. Dr. Cook was a continuing consultant with the District. For whatever reasons, Messers. Wilkerson and Reeves of the Board did not share the same vision or beliefs. They voted not to participate; the majority of the Board said yes on a 4-2 decision.

At the lead of the Board, the year seemed a quiet one regarding the Kensington School. The reader will recall that Superintendent Spanman was on a year's leave of absence, (Dr. Alan Ranson was Acting Superintendent). Also gone since the prior Summer was the Director of Curriculum, Dr. Jerl Cohen. Principal Shelby, the last of the three central figures in Kensington remained alone.

Then, without fanfare, Kensington's initial period ended on February 22nd, 1966. Item #6095 of the Board minutes was this:

> Mr. Wilkerson moved that the resignation of Eugene Shelby be accepted with service termination date of March 1, 1966, and official resignation date as March 22, 1966. Mr. Reeves seconed the motion and roll call vote was as follows:

Mrs. Harcourt	No
Mr. Reeves	Yes
Mr. Henderson	No
Mr. Tittle	Yes
Mr. Wilkerson	Yes
Mr. Ludwig	Yes

The motion carried.

Shelby, the Principal of Kensington had resigned mid-semester of his second year. He was off to P.S. 2100, a School of the Future. In March, Mr. Edwards was reassigned from the Field School to Kensington. A new era had begun. Later that Spring, the entire staff, but two, resigned.

5.6 Summary

For those who like a context for understanding educational phenomena, we believe we have supplied the rudiments of one perspective, the Board of Education. Even here though, it's a minimum account because it's heavily based on the formal deliberations, the minutes, of the Board. A long and involved alternative perspective, mostly from the Principal and faculty, appears in Anatomy of Educational Innovation (1971). A third and more abstract perspective, not independent of the second and quite skimpy in form, is a pictorial interpretation by Smith and Keith (1971). In their book it was Figure 1.5; here it is Figure 16.

Insert Figure 16 About Here

Several additional perspectives appear in other volumes of this final report in Innovation and Change in Education. Smith and Kleine in Innovations Now and Then (Volume V), develop retrospective views from

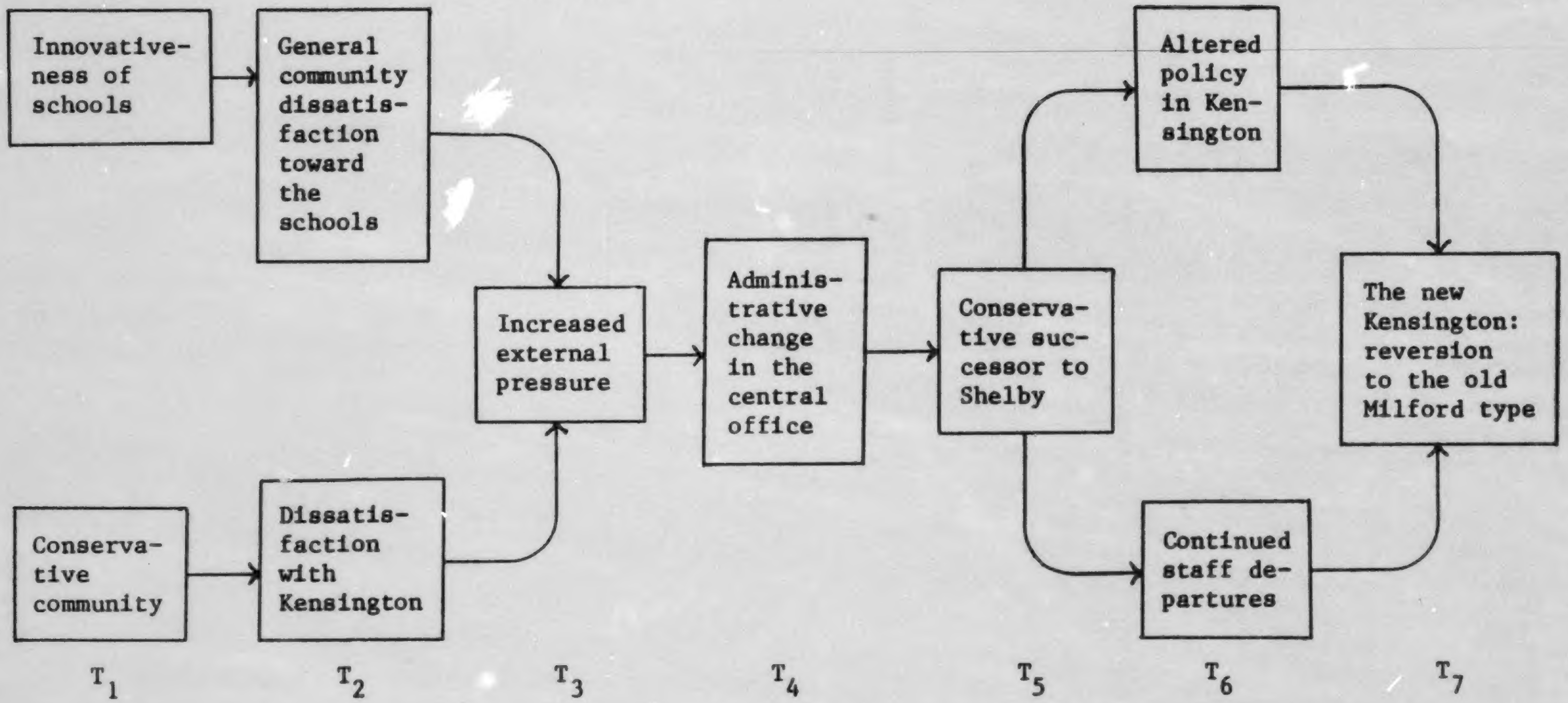
Innovativeness of schools
General community dissatisfaction toward the schools
Conservative community
Dissatisfaction with Kensington
Increased external pressure
Administrative change in the central office
Conservative successor to Shelby
Altered policy in Kensington
Continued staff departures
The new Kensington: reversion to the old Milford type
T_1
T_2
T_3
T_4
T_5
T_6
T_7

Figure 16: The Social Context of Kensington's Administrative Change

long interviews with administrators. Prunty, Smith, and Dwyer in *Annals* Volume IV, focus on the one hand on the community, neighborhood, patron and parental views and on staff and principal views on the other hand. Overall, our aspirations, if not our talents and results, are toward an educational *Roshoman*, *Alexandria Quartet*, or *Alms for Oblivion*. Interestingly, tragedies all.

6. THE INITIAL YEARS OF THE GEORGIAN ERA: 1966-68

6.1 Introduction

Prophetic, or happenstance, we are not sure, but several "minor" items characterized the beginning of Ron George's tenure as Superintendent.

1) The Board interviewed only local, inside candidates, although five outsiders had applied.
2) Before appointing Ron George the Board had settled almost every major administrative appointment--principals and assistant principals and all central office personnel.
3) The Board offered him a one year contract instead of the usual three year contract.
4) And, finally, they paid him as the new Superintendent, $2,250 less than his predecessor, an unusual event.

Now, the position of superintendent, beyond whatever the personality, style, and aspirations of the incumbent, seemed to be "hemmed in." The new Board seems to have reordered the power relations between itself and the Superintendent. The Board seemed to be back in control. That seems a formidible set of givens.

The educational substance of what the Board wanted to do has been hinted at in the minority votes on a number of issues prior to the major changes in the April elections, the resignations, and the realigning of coalitions.

A recurring generalization strikes one immediately on reading the June 14th minutes: even though it's a special meeting, the Board attends to a large volume of usual business. A contract for constructing the high school cafeteria was awarded, and the major purpose of the special meeting was met. Redeemed Bonds and coupons were burned "in the presence of two credible witnesses." Contracts were approved for classrooms of exceptional children. Approval occurred for paying dues for Midwest State School Board Association. Authorization was granted to pay bills over the Summer. Bids were accepted for clocks at the Kensington and Midvale Schools. A $396.00 contract "for exterminating services of all kitchen storerooms and warehouses in the District for the 1966-67 school year." And on and on.

Symbolically, for our evolving political perspective on innovation and change, the new Board defeated, on a 4-2 vote, a $250.00 travel expenditure for the Principal of Kensington to attend a professional meeting to receive a national award for the Kensington Elementary School. The maker of the motion, Mrs. Harcourt indicated that "she plans to accept the award for the Kensington School, if possible, at her own expense" (6/14/66). The "out's" were now the "in's" and what was once good, desirable, and important was no longer so. Cosmopolitanism was one of those former "goods." Localism was now a virtue.

Shortly thereafter, Tom Mack's resignation as Principal of the Johnson School was accepted, unanimously. He had spent one year as Coordinator of Instructional Materials at Kensington and one year as Principal of Johnson Elementary School. He moved to a more "innovative district" in the metropolitan area.[13]

---

[13] His story is told in some detail in Volume V, Educational Innovators: Then and Now. (Smith and Kleine, 1982)

We seem to be seeing various minutes as "symbolic" of the new Board and Superintendent. Perhaps it's just the contrast between George and Spanman, but...

> Mr. Tuley moved that Dr. George be allowed to attend the Midwest State Teachers' Association meeting November 3 and 4 at his own expense. Mr. Wilkerson seconded the motion and it carried unanimously. (10/11/66)

Frugality--and localism--have returned--with a vengeance.

6.2 The District Saga in the Early Georgian Years: 1966-1968

The First Year: A Different Kind of Beginning

The District, under the direction of its new Superintendent seemed to be characterized by "normal business", less turmoil, and smaller volume of reports, initiatives and expositions, and less time spent in meetings. The meetings typically adjourned before midnight. The volume of explanation and "paper" bound into the minutes decreased noticeably. Although the votes were sometimes split 5-1 and occasionally 4-2, the coalition seemed gone. Rather, individual members were raising occasional objections to items they disapproved. Mostly building additions were being built and day to day concerns were being handled with dispatch and unaninimity.

A recommendation by the new Superintendent but which received no official action by the Board concerned Mr. McBride, Milford's earlier, long term Superintendent. Item B, in the Appendix of the August 23, 1966 agenda raised the issue this way:

> **Appointment of Educational Adviser**
>
> It is the recommendation of the Superintendent that Mr. F. N. McBride be appointed to the position of Educational Adviser.
>
> We make this recommendation for two reasons. One is the fact that it seems a shame to have a man of such vast experience in the District and not make use of this experience. Secondly, we believe that the School District remains in Mr. McBride's debt as regards the manner in which he was removed as Superintendent.
>
> Recommendation: It is recommended that Mr. F. N. McBride be appointed Educational Adviser on a ten month basis at a salary of $400.00 per month.

A number of District personnel have commented on Dr. George's high regard for Mr. McBride. Dr. George seems a man of strong loyalties. The Board took no action. The idea faded away.

In October the Assistant Superintendent Alan Ranson, the chief competition for the superintendency, who had been on leave, submitted his resignation, effective immediately. The Board granted it unanimously. He was joining the U. S. Department of Education. Rumor had it that Spanman was instrumental in helping place him. This "normal" ebb and flow of personnel seems critical for homogeneity and cohesiveness in a small group such as a central office staff. It suggests also that personnel changes may be considerably less traumatic and actually better for the individual and the organization than is sometimes suggested.

In November, 1966 the Board began what was to be a major set of substantive and procedural issues--discussions with the local CTA over salary issues:

> The Board discussed at some length the teachers' request for a four percent salary increase. It was the consensus of the Board that the District could not afford a four percent salary

> increase at this time. The Board agreed that while they could not grant an increase at this time, they were sympathetic to an increase in salaries next year both in the beginning salary and the index. (11/19/66)

The Board asked the committee to calculate minimum and maximum schedules for different starting salaries and different indexes and to meet with them again a month later.

The meeting in December found the Board picking the lower starting level, $5,500 rather than $5,600 or $5,700 but accepting the ten step scale and the new index. All this was contingent on passing the levy in February.

The Chairman of the CTA salary committee wrote the Board in January:

> The Salary and Welfare Committee of the Milford Classroom Teachers' Association hereby expresses its appreciation for the cooperation extended by the Board of Education in the constructive discussions of teachers' benefits and the proposed teachers' Salary Index.
>
> We express our sincere gratification that ours was the first and, to date, the only school district in which the School Board has given recognition to and invited representatives of the CTA to discuss their problems at a Board meeting.
>
> We earnestly hope the Board will afford opportunity in the future to present more of our suggestions for proper consideration.
>
> Respectively yours,
>
> Mrs. Jill Wedgewood

Mixed in with the salary issue and special tax levy were several other issues. Patron concern erupted over community rumors that school boundaries would be shifted radically. The Board President acknowledged Mr. Tuley who issued a statement at the January 24th meeting that began this way:

> Mr. Tuley stated that it had come to his attention that there was a rumor being spread that after the School Levy is passed, the complete school system will undergo a boundary change. Mr. Tuley said he knew nothing official other than the eleven principals are having their annual meeting to discuss school population and that he wanted time now for Dr. George and Board members to express themselves and then open the meeting for public questions. (1/24/67)

The other comments indicate that a variety of suggestions and plans were under consideration and that all administrative suggestions would pass through the Board's usual review and action procedures.

The written statement of Mr. Tuley's, also enclosed with the minutes, was a bit hotter:

> It has come to my attention during the week of a vicious and malicious (secret) rumor that definitely needs clarification if we are to pass the teacher's levy February 7th.
>
> Through telephone calls and personal contacts, I have found out an official of our school system has stated ("This is a secret but after the school levy is passed, the complete system will undergo a boundary change").
>
> From experience, just using the word secret, and some action of past Boards, Paul Revere has delivered his "secret" from border to border in our District.
>
> Tonight will be the deciding night on will the school levy pass or fail---
>
> Knowing nothing official--other than eleven (11) elementary principals are having their annual meeting to discuss school population, I want time now for Dr. George and all other Board members to express themselves, then open the meeting for public questions----- (1/13/67)

Another Board member, Mr. Hedley, in a longer statement also criticized the "rumor monger." Two paragraphs from his note raise the historical contextual issues that seem ever present:

> That patrons believe this rumor and suspect the Board of deception indicates that there is still a residue of distrust against a previous board and administration, when half truths and rumor were frequently employed to delude the public. The present Board and administration have tried to be conscientious, straight-forward, and reasonable. We have tried to provide transportation where a need existed, have eliminated the double sessions at the Junior High School, have worked with the CTA salary committee, and have listened sympathetically to the problems of parents and students.

That seems a potent criticism of the prior Board and administration and yields further insight on the particulars of the prior political action, from the perspective of the "new Board." It also indicates some of the particular substantive issues that split school communities. A later paragraph accents our evolving conceptions of board-administration relationships, from the perspective of the new group:

> This Board is not a puppet organization of "yes-men" for any administrative official or committee. Our duty is to the patrons. (1/24/67)

If doubts existed on the nature and substance of the new Board-Administration relationships this kind of comment, addressed to a different issue, removes them one more time.

Also brewing in Suburban County were several petitions to consolidate some of the school districts into larger districts and a petition to consolidate all schools in Suburban County into a single district.

The impetus at this time was financial equity. Suburban County had considerable variability in district tax bases and in tax rates. The poorest districts tended to have the highest rates.

Also in January, and this was earlier than usual, the Board on a 5-1 vote, offered Dr. George a three year contract with a $1,000 raise, to $17,500. Mrs. Harcourt, the lone holdover from the Spanman coalition, voted "No".

Mrs. Harcourt and Mr. Hedley, both incumbents, indicated, along with new comer Mr. Eastland, that they would be candidates in the April election.

The unofficial return on February 7th indicated the levy had failed. The Board moved unanimously to resubmit it on March 17, 1967. The official returns were:

For the Levy ----- 1,879
Against the Levy - 2,459

In March the Levy received a majority:

For the Levy ----- 3,567
Against the Levy - 3,150

The April elections contained one more unusual item. Mr. Hedley had indicated that he would be leaving the District in August to accept an out-of-town administrative post. He accepted the position after the closing date for decisions to run for the Board, therefore it was too late for a candidate of similar persuasion to file. Consequently he decided to stay on the ballot. A group of citizens saw this as unethical. Their petition to the Board was rejected because the Board had no jurisdiction over the matter. The elections settled the issue, for Mr. Hedley lost. The other incumbent, Mrs. Harcourt, the last of the Spanman coalition, also lost.

The Board hassled through several 3-3 ties for President and Vice President and finally re-elected Tuley for President and Wilkerson as Vice President.

The community overwhelmingly rejected a small change in District boundaries 1,090-4,355. Citizens of Milford don't give away any of their territory.

A confrontation occurred with the part-time bus drivers, who thought they had been promised a $.50 increase but only received a $.25 increase per run. They indicated they would not drive the next day. Dr. George then responded:

> ...that it was their decision whether they drove the buses in the morning or not but any driver who refused to drive a bus Wednesday, April 12, 1967, would be dismissed. (4/11/67)

The Board went on record, unanimously, to support the Superintendent. The Board granted small increases to several other groups of non professional employees.

A special session was called for April 27th; the Board met with three state legislators, the striking and non striking bus drivers, and some of the District patrons. The give and take found the Board's position essentially unchanged. The key statement was made by Mr. Edmond:

> Mr. Edmond said the Board had made its decision on what it felt it could do and he suggested to the drivers that anyone who wanted could fill out an application and when there was an opening he would be considered. (4/27/67)

Mr. Reeves indicated that the Board was concerned but that "...it could not give any of the non certificated people everything they wanted," (4/27/67). One citizen, speaking from the audience, gave the Board "a vote of confidence of the people of the District in the manner in which they handled the situation" (4/27/67).

The Board continued to vote for a conservative status quo state of affairs with an accompanying limit on spending:

> Mr. Edmond moved that the President vote against that portion of the League of Superintendents of Suburban County 1967-68 budget to hire an Executive Director and to maintain it on the same basis as has been done in the past. Mr. Wilkerson seconded the motion and it carried unanimously. (5/9/67)

Also in late May 1967, the County Superintendent of Schools, responding to the decision of an arbitration board, indicated that the small disputed boundary between Milford and Kennard would not be changed.

In June, the Board secretary, Mr. Reeves, read the summary statement from the State Department of Education: the Milford Schools continued its AAA K-6-3-3- rating and now had 80 3/4 total units of approved high school credits.

The Board's fiscal concerns seemed to continue cutting in every direction, as one minute in June testifies:

> Mr. Edmond moved that the Board not renew its membership in Midwest State School Boards' Association for the 1967-68 school year due to an increase in dues. Mr. Eastland seconded the motion and it carried unanimously. (6/16/67)

Spanman's cosmopolitan thrust continued to succomb to a new Board's vision of frugal local public education.

That night the Board met in executive session from 9:40 P.M. until 1:34 A.M., first with a group of parents concerned over "...complaints about the Administration of the Senior High School and the manner in which various incidents, which had occurred in the past few months, had been handled." Later the Board met with the principals. Two months later, in August, the Principal's resignation was accepted and a new principal was appointed.

The Board joined other districts in Suburban County in urging their legislators to vote against a teacher tenure bill. Among the parts of the bill about which dissatisfaction was expressed was:

1) inclusion of the Superintendent
2) one way protection for teacher but not the district
3) program changes not recognized in reduction of faculty
4) retention only on seniority basis
5) probation burden on the district to allege incompetency

The public face of the legislator's perspective can be seen in a reply to the Milford Board:

> I will certainly give your views consideration, but as you know there are hundreds of boards in Midwest State and all other boards do not operate as your board has and all boards have not treated their teachers fairly. Suburban County is a peculiar situation in that a teacher can leave one district and go to another district without selling his home. This is not true outstate. The matter will no doubt be very thoroughly discussed on the floor if the amended bill reaches the Senate. (6/30/67)

The Second Year: Routines Established

Dr. George's second year seemed to have fallen into an easy routine. In August the principalship problems had been solved and the teachers' salary concerns had been delayed until more information was known from the State Department. The Insurance Advisory Commission was functioning. Federal revenues included $473.00 for vocational education programs and $5,019.00 for NAEA and Title III programs. The auditors were auditing the treasurer's monthly reports. The part-time bus drivers' wages were increased by 25¢ for the morning run and 25¢ for the afternoon run. Bids for junior and senior high towel and linen service were accepted as were bids for gasoline, for fuel oil, for uniforms, and for portable cafeteria tables. A contract for student teachers was signed with State Teachers College. Daily trash and garbage pick-up was to cost $300.00 per month. Three teachers resigned, eight teachers shifted up on the salary schedule, thirteen new teachers' contracts were signed, and fifteen teachers' contracts were amended for participation in the tax sheltered annuity program.

The regular once a month curriculum presentations to the Board continued, but they seemed more low key and often were presentations by central office personnel. The four inservice programs for the year, as presented in October, involved three textbook companies and their consultants in math, spelling, and English "at no cost to the District." The fourth was presented by the District math coordinator. A committee on Instructional Improvement was formed. A final minute in the October records captures the quality of the new administration:

> Mr. Luther (the Assistant Superintendent) discussed with the Board the various instructional meetings the Board would like to have presented during the 1967-68 school year. Some of the instructional programs the Board would like to have presented are: Initial Teaching Alphabet, Elementary Intramural Program, and Developmental Reading. (10/20/67)

Dr. George's "Agendas" for the Board were considerably briefer, partly in number of items, but mostly in the length of rationales and explanations accompanying each item. Most non business items were presented "for discussion" or "for information." For a variety of reasons he was not leading out as Dr. Spanman had; the proactive style, as we called it, was gone. The Board seemed happy with all this for, on October 24th, 1967, they voted unanimously to increase his salary to $18,750, retroactive to July 1, 1967.

Much of our narrative in Dr. George's first two years has broken out into many sub themes--teacher activism, financing of programs, the American Dilemma, and so forth. In the Spring of 1968, we should note, meetings were being held regarding the possible statewide reorganization of the public school districts. The central issues were the elimination of small 100 pupil districts in outstate areas and reduction of the disparity in economic resources prevalent in the state. Suburban County could be affected by the latter moves.

In April the Board elections occurred. Mr. Wilkerson, a major controversial figure, opponent of Dr. Spanman and supporter of Dr. George, chose not to run. The other incumbent, Sherman Reeves, won handily. Mr. Wells joined the Board. Mr. Tuley was unanimously re-elected

President, Mr. Eastland became Vice President. The Secretary and Treasurer posts remained the same. All votes were unanimous. It looked as though the conservative continuity would persist.

6.3 Analytical and Interpretive Themes

In our account of the history of the Milford School District, both in Volume I and now in Volume II we have maintained the chronological time line and the concomitant stories of the superintendents as the basic organizational framework. From that narrative, we have broken out various analytical and interpretive themes. In part, these were selected because "they were there", at least implicitly as ideas and explicitly as data. In part, also, they were selected because they foreshadow the District's efforts in confronting the problems of today or they indicate the origins of some of todays issues. Finally, some items bear directly and immediately on the Kensington story and explicate both the changes in the school and some of the reasons for the changes.

In this section, we develop the next stage in the Kensington chronicle, we focus on the large problem of financing the Milford Schools, we pick up the thread of teacher activism and militancy, and then we encounter the American Dilemma again. Finally, Superintendent George's administrative style provides a vehicle for summarizing and concluding the discussion of the first years.

The Kensington Chronicle in the Early Georgian Period

In several places, now, we have talked about the changes in the Kensington School. Some of these discussions were speculative, as in

Smith and Keith's (1971) early set of predictions in Anatomy of Educational Innovation. Others are more descriptive as in Volume IV in our account of Kensington Today. Some are both descriptive and interpretive as in Volume II, The Annals of a School.

Here, we continue the descriptive account but from an interpretive perspective, that is, what items about the school reached the Board and warranted Board action. In this way we will serve our multiple analytic purposes in furthering our understanding of Innovation and Change in American Education.

If it hasn't been made clear before, we would emphasize once again, anything that involves money always goes through the Board. Individual elementary schools as organizations may not be unique in this regard, but they do have little budgeting autonomy and power. Principals are instructional leaders without discretionary budgets and organizational executives who don't deal with money matters. The Board does, to wit:

> Mr. Walter Carter, architect, recommended that the School District accept the offer of Levialtran Construction Comapny to deduct $1,500.00 from their final billing on the Kensington and Midvale schools for the rust spots on the ceilings in these schools. Mr. Tuley moved that Mr. Carter be instructed to call in another firm to check the ceilings of these schools and estimate the cost to repair them and if possible to determine whose fault it was that this situation occurred and report the information back to the Board. Mr. Wilkerson seconded the motion and it carried unanimously. (7/14/66)

The issue of discretionary funds available to principals (and discretionary funds for teachers) is a much larger item than concerns over a leaky roof and rust spots on the ceiling. But the particular does raise the general point. On the surface, a principal who is responsible for an organizational unit of a quarter, or half a million dollars with practically no funds to use as his creativity and imagination might suggest seems a leader or manager with little power.[14] Comparative data from business, industry, government, or religious organizations might be informative.

In August, Mrs. Harcourt presented Kensington's "School Award for 1966" to the Board. She had traveled "at her own expense" to receive it. Traces linger on from the Spanman era. Cosmopolitans and innovators die as hard as localists and traditionalists. The importance of a political paradigm of schooling, majority definitions of "the good", and what kinds of school activities receive support seem ready inferences from this one small item, once the historical and contemporaneous contexts are known.

In January 1967, the final sale occurred of the seven plus acres of property adjoining the Kensington School. A local civic organization had bought it for a recreational facility for its members. The outdoor pond and nature study area were gone. Actualizing an ecologically oriented science program, if a teacher had such inclinations, would now be more difficult than before. One of the "givens" in the environment of the original Kensington School was now gone. No argument for the curriculum issues appeared in the minutes. Financial resources was the key and telling reason.

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[14] While this was being written, we were involved with Mosher's (1982) study of a minigrant program in a local teachers' center. This program with its small amounts of discretionary funds for teacher ideas seemed a major impetus to creativity in curriculum and teaching.

In March, the Board agreed to meet with the parents of Kennerly Heights, a neighborhood whose children were tentatively set to be moved to the Williams School. The Board met with the group in special session on April 11, 1967. The Superintendent's agenda raised it this way as the first item on the agenda:

> The parents of students living in the Kennerly Heights area have asked the Board of Education to reconsider the boundary line change involving their area. We have asked the principals' committee to present the boundary line picture to these parents so that they may get an idea of the total picture.
>
> After and during the presentation there will be an opportunity for discussion. (4/11/67)

The Board minutes pick up the line of argument in the discussion and the results:

> Patrons of the Kennerly Heights area pointed out that their children had been transferred to several schools in the past few years and once again were to be transferred to another school. Many of the patrons had been residents in the area for quite a number of years and felt that their children should be given first consideration over transient patrons in the District.
>
> Mr. Tuley asked if the Praire Vista Apartment area students who were already being transported to Marquette School could be transported to one of the other schools. It was pointed out that these students could be taken to Field, Grant, or Williams with Field being closer to their area.
>
> Mr. Edmond moved the Board adopt the new proposal to keep the students in the Kennerly Heights area in the Kensington attendance area and to transport the children in the Praire Vista Apartments to the Field Elementary School and any other necessary changes. Mr. Wilkerson seconded the motion and it carried unanimously.
>
> Mr. Tuley thanked the patrons of the Kennerly Heights area for attending the meeting and invited them to attend future Board meetings. (4/11/67)

Property ownership, length of tenure in the District, and "fair's fair" (our children have done their shifting) ostensibly won the day. Although the Board made the final decision, parents initiated, communicated, and persuaded. Superintendent George's reactive stance, the implementation of a Board policy which had had major citizen influence, seems a long way from Spanman's more proactive role. Is the critical contrast that of "vision" versus "participatory democracy"? A decade later when Kennerly Heights was an all Black subdivision arguments would be made to move the children elsewhere. The Board would resist this for the neighborhood is part of Kensington's attendance area.

In February, 1968, the Principal of Kensington, Mr. Edwards, and two of his teachers, Frances Patton and Ethel West, presented a program for the Board on reading skills and reading interests in the upper elementary grades. In the minutes they were not identified as from the Kensington School. The program was part of the regular once a month curriculum presentations. In a sense, it seems as though Kensington was just another school in the District and playing a part, no more, no less, than any other elementary school. The formal "favorite son" status was gone even if it were to linger and to fade away more slowly in informal perception and reputation. Most teachers in the school perceived this as beneficial. But a major conceptual and practical issue remains--is there a time, place, and occasion for special identification and treatment for any one school? Is it possible for each elementary school to develop a positive and desirable idiosyncratic identity which attracts certain kinds of teachers, contributes to their professional growth and development, and, as a consequence, promotes morale, interests and learning on the part of pupils.[15] The tradeoffs between individuality and equality at the school level seem another aspect of the proactive-reactive discussion at the District superintendent level.

The Summer elementary school program continued to be held at the Kensington School. It was the only air conditioned elementary school in the District. The school's purpose was stated clearly:

> To provide elementary students with enrichment activities in reading, listening, writing, and mathematics, and to provide remedial activities for students experiencing difficulties in reading. (3/12/68)

Some innovations, air conditioning, have important long term viability and consequences. Planners with an eye to the small and mundane presumably can raise options and alternative not otherwise possible. Larger items presumably have some larger possibilities.

In June, 1968, the first steps were taken in a major change in the original design at Kensington. Preparations for an Autumn bond issue for "closing in" the play shelter of the Kensington School. The architects were also to design a new building at the high school and additional boys' showers at the Old Junior High School. Various structural changes keep occurring with school buildings. Even structures made of concrete and brick can be altered. Before Spanman arrived, additional multipurpose rooms to each of the older elementary schools had been a major accomplishment of Superintendent McBride and earlier school boards. One or two of the more localist and traditional Board members had raised concerns in the original design of the plans for Kensington. But multi-useless" rooms, as labels, were in the air. The votes had gone the other way then. At some point between "the evidence of recent experience" and the "new localist/traditionalist majority", "truth" had been found.

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[15] In an earlier study of science education in the Alte School District (Smith, 1978) we present some data on this kind of option.

Gradually, and for specifiable reasons, actions, and decisions at a micro level, the Kensington School was changing in a number of ways. It was on its way toward a new identity, an identity that was similar to the old elementary schools of Milford.

As one of the incredible ironies, the Georgian period began just as the "Title Wave" of federal funding was beginning with the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965. The "might of been" scenarios that could be written if Spanman had only held on for another year or two are numerous. His concept of local innovation, the whole conception of the Kensington School, is almost a prototypical illustration of Title III, Innovative Projects and Programs of ESEA. The District patrons, the Board, and the Central Office staff had had their fill of the new elementary education. They were "back-to-basics" a decade before it would become a national movement.

Remarkable also is the clarity in one small strand of District events leading to austerity in District programming and activities. In Figure 17 we make an argument that a series of events: being burned recently, if the Spanman years could be so described, a long standing belief system of opposition to Federal aid to education, a current board with a strong localist orientation, and a reactive style of the current

Superintendent, Dr. George, led to the perceptions of ESEA as a "non opportunity." This led, in turn, to attempts at local funding, which in the main were unsuccessful and left the District with severe austerity. In an interesting manner the Kensington School episode gave a kind of leadership to this new wave.

Insert Figure 17 About Here

Financing the Milford Schools: A major "Given" in Innovation and Change

At times we wished we were accountants, experts in the politics of taxation, and public domain economists. Tax levys and bond campaigns seem to be a double barrel gun at the heads of boards and central administrators. There seem to be few good ways to escape one or the other. McBride, as a surprise to us and to some of the District personnel, had uncommonly good fortune in securing a variety of federal monies in the thirties, forties, and fifties, mostly for building buildings. Spanman, again surprisingly was a free enterpriser who talked funds out of corporations and foundations, also with good success. However, the final large grant, the million dollars over five years, failed to materialize. The failure to win those resources might well be seen as the death knoll of his administration. One might well argue that that sum of money would have been difficult for a money conscious Milford community and Board to turn down, even with their growing antipathy to Spanman's cosmopolitan proactive style and to his imaginative but innovative conception of excellence in education. Many Americans will tolerate all kinds

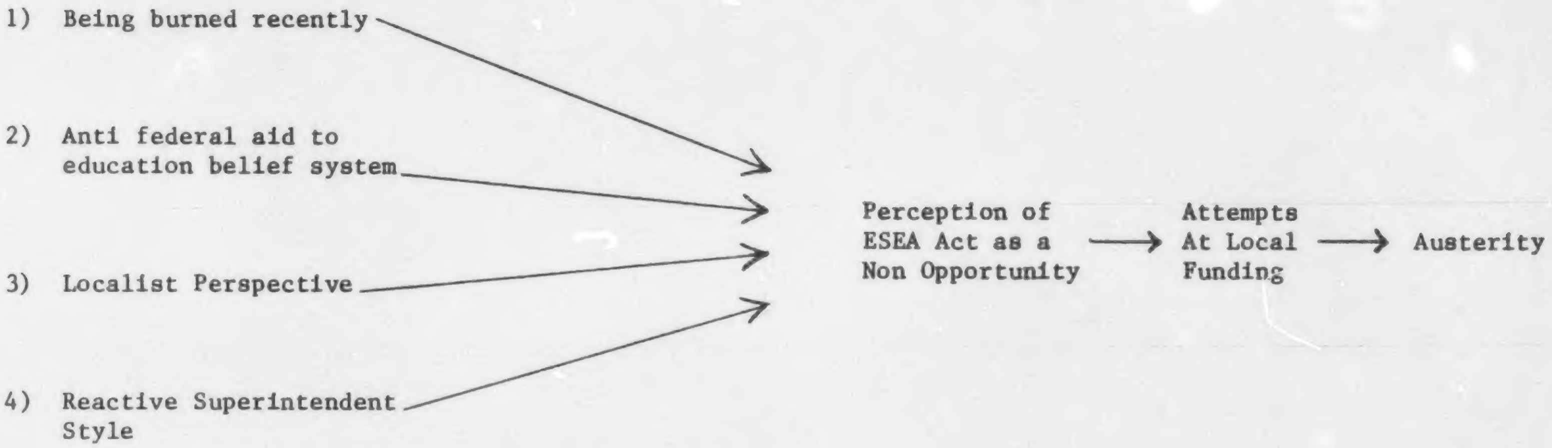
1) Being burned recently
2) Anti federal aid to education belief system
3) Localist Perspective
4) Reactive Superintendent Style
Perception of ESEA Act as a Non Opportunity
Attempts At Local Funding
Austerity

Figure 17: ESEA as a "Non Opportunity"

of people and programs, if they can pay "their" own way. As we have indicated, austerity was the name of the game in the earlier Georgian years. Shortly, so we will argue, "poverty stricken" became the more apt lable.

The political aspects of local funding are several fold. One of the key findings was the little agreeement among local school districts that one might expect from presumably like-minded individuals. These disagreements among local school boards and officials of Suburban County were oft times at the federal level and at the state level. They occurred at the county level as well. In November, 1967, a neighboring district presented a tax reform proposal which the Milford Board received in this fashion:

> Mr. Reeves read a letter from Mr. Thomas Norwich, President of the Meramac Board of Education, urging all Board members of the League of Suburban School Districts to give support to the motion he made at the May 12th meeting of the League. The motion was that the Conference go on record as urging the passage of legislation enabling the County to have a countywide income tax which would be collected by the State, piggyback with its income tax, and returned by the State to the County School Districts on an Average Daily Attendance basis. The motion was tabled until the League meeting of November 30, 1967.
>
> It was the consensus of the (Milford) Board that the Tax Equalization Plan is a better method than the income tax plan.
>
> Mr. Edmond moved that the Board authorize the delegates attending the meeting of the League 11/20/67, to vote "no" on the motion of having a countywide income tax plan. Mr. Eastland seconded the motion and it carried unanimously. (11/14/67)

The reasoning in Mr. Norwich's letter, which was appended to the minutes, appears in two key paragraphs:

> The costly and discouraging experience of holding several elections to secure acceptance of a tax rate was shared by several county school districts this past Spring. Our dependence on the local property tax is a major factor for resistance of the voters, who feel that tax rates are already high enough. Some other form of taxation to raise school revenues, such as the income tax I propose, will be one effective way to increase school revenue without further rises in property taxes, and may be more acceptable to voters. Having such a source of revenue is, I feel, essential to having adequate school funds. Such legislation as proposed would possibly permit any county in Midwest State to provide a similar tax if it so desired.
>
> Certainly, additional state aid is needed. Some feel that a local effort blunts pressure on the State. However, sufficient state aid is likely to be very slow in materializing and may not be adequate to local needs as visualized by our forward-looking boards. And in any event, the money rebated through the State comes from local sources; and it is even possible that a county like ours might wish to have both higher state aid and a county income tax to provide the type of education to which our citizens generally aspire. (11/9/67)

The merit of one proposal versus another is not the issue we wish to raise here. Rather it's the concern for approaches to conflict resolution, and the one that seems important here is a variant on Patrick Henry's old slogan about "hanging together or hanging separately." Mr. Norwich seemed to be arguing that point in his concluding paragraph:

> Even though there are several areas where honest questions may arise concerning implementation of my motion, I urge you to support the basic fact of a need for a local source of revenue beyond the present property tax. (11/9/67)

The Boards financial policies sometimes seem to have a touch of irony if not humor. In March, 1968, the Board voted unanimously on a new three year contract for the Superintendent:

> ...with a salary amount contingent on passage of a Teachers' Levy but to be $1,500.00 more than the highest Assistant Superintendent's salary. (3/12/68)

What apparently had happened was that one of the Assistant Superintendents who was indexed at 1.55 of the teachers' salaries who was older and had more years of experience, was making almost as much ($18,925 in the coming year) as the Superintendent whose salary was not indexed. Discretionary salaries, in tight financial times, may be more of a debt than an asset.

While the salary discussions were underway in January, 1968, it seems appropriate to include the tentative budgets. The one page summary presents considerable information that clarifies a number of items about Milford in the early years of Dr. George's tenure as Superintendent. The budget summary is in Figure 18.

Insert Figure 18 About Here

A brief accounting of revenues seems similarly instructive:

10	Local receipts	4,638,853
20	County receipts	234,000
30	State	1,662,255
40	Federal	157,830
	Total	6,692,938

Most of the local receipts were from current property taxes. The County receipts came from railroad and utility taxes. The State monies were mostly EO, TP, and AA. The Federal monies were mostly from ESEA.

In social affairs, "givens" are the result of prior social action, not the result of some immutable national law. With the increasing pressure from the teachers through their CTA Salary Committee and the

I. Tentative Revised Budget 1967-68
  A. Includes new foundation monies
  B. Includes $5600 beginning salary for teachers
  C. Includes actual valuation
  D. Includes actual textbook monies
  E. Current tax collection based on 95.5% plus 100,000 delinquent taxes
  F. Actual balances as of June 30, 1967

II. Preliminary Budget 1968-69
  A. Based on $92,500,000 valuation
  B. 8500 ADA
  C. 95.5 collection plus 100,000 delinquent taxes
  D. Teachers beginning salary of $6000
  E. 8% retirement
  F. Generally a raise of $20 per month in the base of non-certificated personnel
  G. No increase in teaching staff
  H. Balances based on $5500 beginning teachers' salaries, $60,000 added to tentative revised budget 1967-68 for teachers' fund and $5500 to incidental fund for decrease in expenditures for retirement
  I. 85% of E.Q., T.P., and A.A. to teachers' fund

III. Non-Certificated Cost Chart

IV. Non-Certificated Cost based on $20 per month raise

V. Comparison of the Various Accounts in the Three Budgets

	Expenditures	67-68	Tentative Revised 67-68	Preliminary Budget 68-69
100	Total	109,400	110,000	114,360
211	Principals	330,000	355,000	380,000
213.1	Teachers	2,974,000	3,029,000	3,366,000
215	Other Salaries	125,600	125,600	139,000
500	Salaries	86,000	86,000	93,000
600	Salaries	301,000	305,000	330,000
640	Utilities	84,800	110,000	110,000
660	Other	1,500	4,500	4,500
710	Maintenance Salaries	121,000	110,000	125,000
810.1	Retirement	196,500	200,000	305,000
810.2	Social Security	42,000	42,000	46,500
820	Insurance	64,500	64,500	71,000
910	Food Service	133,000	133,000	143,000
1230	Equipment	77,000	77,000	4,000
1231	Furniture	13,000	15,500	3,000

Figure 18: Rationale and Budgets for 1967-69

increasing reluctance of two-thirds of the voters to support increased taxes the Board was in a most difficult position. In April, 1968, after the tax levy had been defeated for the third time, the Board met with their State representative for discussion of:

> ...various methods that could be employed to get legislation changed to increase aid to education and take some of the burden off of the tax payers. (4/23/68)

With tax and bond levies failing all over Suburban County, the flurry of activity for changes in school financing continued. The minutes (4/23/68) report communiques from a citizens group in Oak Grove and another letter from the Meramac President reiterating their earlier appeal for consideration of a County income tax. More generally he was arguing for "early agreement on a 'reform package'" which would provide time to develop legislative support across the State. Dr. George was leading a petition drive to urge the Govenor to add an educational financing item to the special legislative session he was calling. Representative Nathan met with the Board once again.

Stories such as these yield multiple morals if not generalizations. A few that come to mind are these:

1) In a democracy persuasion never ends--within the staff, within the school district, across school districts in the county and across the state
2) Agreements are very difficult to reach
3) Sometimes the difficulties are widespread, as in this period, across Suburban County and Midwest State
4) Internally, as we will argue shortly, the responses seem to be some frustration, some lowering of expectations and grudging acceptance, some decline in morale, and some efforts to change other parts of the system

The Natural History of Teacher Militancy in Milford: Part One

Teacher militancy may be an inappropriate label. "Teacher say" in the control of their vocational or professional lives would be another. "Sharing of power" might be a third. But militancy, is the concept we want. And it has had an intriguing history in Milford. Our early narrative and interpretation (Volume I) indicated:

1) In the early years the Board had nearly unlimited power in determining the fate of teachers
2) Over the years teacher opinion was sought in increasingly refined ways, e.g. questionnaires
3) Teacher committees were heavily involved in curriculum aspects
4) The Nussbaum affair indicated early hostility to teacher unions
5) The CTA's call for an NEA investigation over the firing of McBride in 1961 was the first major confrontation between the teachers and the Board
6) Spanman's conception of democracy in schooling brought the teachers formally into discussions over salaries with the administration and board

The salary discussions between teachers and Board were carried forward during the first year of Ronald George's tenure. Within the conservative context of the new Board an aura of participation, cooperation, and common goals existed. In retrospect some might have seen a touch of obeisance and paternalism. In November and in December, 1966, the Board held two special meetings with the teachers' salary committee to discuss different plans of beginning salary levels and schedules to maximums. The discussion was recorded this way:

> The Board discussed at some length the teachers' request for a four percent salary increase. It was the consensus of the Board that the District could not afford a four percent salary increase at this time. The Board agreed that while they could not grant an increase at this time, they were sympathetic to an increase in salaries next year both in the beginning salary and in the index.

And

> President Edmond asked the salary committee to work up other index possibilities using the present index as the minimum and the one presented on November 8, 1966, as a maximum and to figure how much these indexes would cost based on $5500, $5600, and $5700 starting salaries and bring these figures to the Board on Saturday, December 10, 1966. President Edmond asked that these figures be given to the Board ahead of the meeting date.
>
> Mrs. Jill Wedgewood, Chairman of the CTA Salary Committee, thanked the Board for their consideration and meeting with the Committee. (11/19/66)

In December, Mr. Dill, the President of the CTA, presented the several plans. His conclusion was reported this way:

> Mr. Dill said that the teachers preference was a starting salary of $5700 but if the Board was unable to grant this, the first preference would be the new salary index. (12/10/66)

The Board's conclusions:

> The Board discussed various salary proposals in addition to the teachers salary request and other items and the amount of additional funds that would be required.
>
> It was the consensus of the Board that the Superintendent should inform the CTA that the salary schedule for the 1967-68 school year for certificated personnel be based on a beginning scale of $5500 with ten steps and using the new index, contingent upon the passage of the tax levy. (12/10/66)

At the January 24, 1967 meeting the Secretary of the Board read a letter from the Chairman of the teachers' salary committee. It is presented in its entirety as Figure 19.

Insert Figure 19 About Here

January 12, 1967

Gentlemen:

The Salary and Welfare Committee of the Milford Classroom Teachers Association hereby expresses its appreciation for the cooperation extended by the Board of Education in the constructive discussions of teachers' benefits and the proposed Teachers' Salary Index.

We express our sincere gratification that ours was the first and to date, the only school district in which the School Board has given recognition to and invited representatives of the C.T.A. to discuss their problems at a Board meeting. (Our Italics)

We ernestly hope the Board will afford us opportunity in the future to present more of our suggestions for proper consideration.

Respectfully yours,

Figure 19: An early CTA letter to the Board

In August, the new chairman of the salary committee, Mr. Tighe, was back at the Board. The State Foundation program was being increased and the teachers' understanding was that they would be a major recipient of the new funds. Since amounts would not be known until November, the meeting should take place then.

In November, 1967 the CTA Salary and Welfare Committee presented proposals:

> ...for improvements in the Pilot Life Insurance Program. The proposals included: extended maternity benefits, at no increased cost to the District; increased maternity benefits at a cost of 25¢ per month for each employee; and life insurance doubled at an increased cost of $8,300 per year.
>
> It was the consensus of the Board that at present the District did not have available funds for the additional increase in insurance premiums and felt that the Committee should work with the Insurance Advisory Commission and submit bids to various insurance companies to see if they are getting the most for their money. (11/28/67)

The extended maternity proposal, at no cost to the District was accepted. Just before adjourning at 1:09 A.M., the Board unanimously passed a motion for a special meeting in December:

> ...to discuss new Foundation Funds and to meet with the CTA Salary Committee concerning same. (11/28/67)

On December 11, 1967, the Board met in executive session for an hour for discussion of the increase State aid and the teachers' salary request. The Board offered $100 per year more retroactive to September (a total increase of $400 for the 1967-68 year). The teachers' committee felt a $200 increase should be given and they could not accept the

$100 without going back to the CTA for a vote. The Board voted an increase in maternity benefits from $200 to $300, at a cost of 25¢ per month for each employee.

On January 9th, 1968 the Salary Committee reported that the CTA had rejected the $100 offer:

> In answer to the question from the Board asking if this was the vote of all the teachers, Mr. Tighe replied the vote was 99 to 71. (1/9/68)

The Salary Committee proposed a $6500 starting salary for 1968-69 with the present index and present number of steps. The Board deflected this but seemed to be discussing in good faith:

> It was the consensus of the Board that the administration would have to figure out how much the requested increase would cost the District and complete the 1968-69 budget before any discussion could take place. President Tuley asked the Salary Committee to meet with the Board on February 27, 1968. (1/9/68)

While these discussions were underway, the District patrons rejected a $1,150,000 Bond issue for building additions. The vote was 2613 for and 1327 against. The Board voted to resubmit on February 27, 1968.

The February 10, 1968 special session involved a discussion of the Board's position:

> ...it was a consensus of the Board that they cannot go over the simple majority vote for a tax levy. The Board feels it has a responsibility to the patrons as well as the teachers. The Board proposed a salary schedule of $5800 with the present index or $6300 base with no index.

The CTA committee retired for a discussion. They came back for clarification over the Board's position on the 2/3 levy. It was a consensus, but not a formal action. The Salary Committee said it would take the position to the membership and return at the February 13th meeting.

Three days later the committee was back to the Board. The CTA had rejected "overwhelmingly" the $5800 proposal. The committee had been instructed to propose $6200 but...

> ...since that time the committee had decided to alter the proposal to $6000 with the present index. This is as low as the Committee can go and the CTA may not accept this.

Further discussion ensued and the committee pushed for a levy higher than the 41¢ one that required only a simple majority. The final exchange was this:

> The Board informed the Salary Committee they would consider the $6000 base salary and present index but would have to figure what amount of tax levy would be required to do this. It would be an amount that would require a two-thirds majority.
>
> After considerable discussion, the Board stated that if the levy did not pass, the resubmission of the above mentioned levy would have to be left to the discretion of the Board.
>
> The Salary Committee agreed to the Board's proposal and would recommend it to the CTA for a vote and would inform the Board of the results. (1/13/68)

At the February 27, 1968 meeting, the Salary Committee indicated the CTA had accepted the $6000 figure. The President of the CTA thanked the Board for meeting with them eight times for a total of 22 hours and "working with them to find a solution." The Board moved for:

Teachers' Levy	2.87
Incidental Levy	1.05
Building Levy	.20
Debt Service Levy	.71
Total	4.83

The special election was set for March 16, 1968. Meanwhile the Bond issue failed its two-third's majority, 3,343 to 1,806.

In special session, March 16, 1968, the unofficial returns were in, the tax levy had failed (3,456 Yeas, 4,040 Nays). The Salary Committee:

> ...asked if the CTA would have a day off to discuss the situation. He said they would expect to make the day up at a later date. President Tuley informed Mr. Tighe that there were no snow days[16] left that could be used for a day out for the teachers and he didn't see how this could be done. (3/16/68)

The committee left to discuss the situation, then:

> The Board requested Dr. George to draft a letter to Governor Gulick relative to the State Foundation Program. (3/16/68)

Our themes of financing and teachers' salaries if not militancy were running together in the data and in the minds of the Board members.

The next item of business suggests the bizarre quality of life of being a Board member:

> Mr. Engel moved that the Judo Club of Gentle Valley be allowed the use of the New Junior High School Gymnasium on Sunday, April 7, 1968 from 12:00 noon to 6:00 P.M. with changes in the appropriate amount and a notice be sent them that the School District does not carry liability insurance. Mr. Edmond seconded the motion and it carried unanimously. (3/16/68)

---

[16] For the sociologist interested in latent functions of social items, "snow days" would be an interesting one to work on.

Whether this illustrates the tolerance of school board members, a reality of governing local schools in America, or a category of items taken as givens but which really belong in administration is not clear. Comparative data across school boards might also determine if these are Milford idiosyncracies or school board verities.

The Board recessed briefly. The teacher Salary Committee argued to re-run the 48¢ levy. The Board President said that their consensus was a two-third vote could not be passed and they would decide on the size levy in ten days, at the March 26th meeting. Then:

> Mr. Tighe asked if the Salary Committee could have released time to meet on Monday, March 18 and then meet with the Executive Committee. Dr. George said they could have released time to meet at 1:00 P.M. The Executive Committee meeting was set for 4:00 P.M.
>
> President Tuley thanked the Committee for coming to the Board meeting. (3/16/68)

Amicability still prevailed.

The March 26th meeting climaxed the year's activities:

> Mr. Tighe, Chairman of the Salary Committee, said at the Board meeting of March 16, the Board had asked the Salary Committee to make a recommendation and the Committee had recommended that the Teacher Levy be run again as before but if the Board did cut the Levy, the budget for teachers' salaries should not be cut. Mr. Tighe said this was discussed at a CTA meeting on Monday, March 18 and they came to the conclusion that if the Board would run a 41¢ Levy that services should be cut to finance the teachers salaries but they felt the Levy should be run at 78¢ with a list of cuts that would have to be made if it failed. The Committee presented this to the CTA but it was not voted on by the CTA body as they did not go along with any cuts or curtailing of services and the following motion from the floor was overwhelmingly passed by the CTA by 198 for and 94 against:

> We the teachers of the Milford School District ask the Board to submit a levy which will provide sufficient funds to increase teachers' salaries to a $6000 base with the present index and without any elimination in the school programs. We propose that this levy be presented to the patrons until it passes or else the schools should be opened until the funds run out and then the schools should be closed.

The Board, in the Spanman years had had some experience with threats to cut off services and then following through with such a reduction. No mention of this appears in the minutes. Rather the record proceeds this way:

> Mr. Reeves pointed out twelve other districts' salary schedules that the Board could adopt that had higher starting salaries but not as high an index as Milford's salary schedule.
>
> After a lengthy discussion, President Tuley said that the Board had gone along with the teachers in running a levy requiring a two-thirds majority. From the results of the voting it indicated that anything requiring a two-third majority could not be passed. He pointed out that the CTA Committee had agreed that if the levy failed, the amount of the next levy would be at the discretion of the Board. By running a levy requiring a simple majority, the Board would be willing to stick with it until it passed.
>
> Mrs. Girard, CTA President, said it seemed that all negotiations had ceased and that, in an orderly fashion, the Committee would investigate invoking sanctions against the District.
>
> Mrs. Girard thanked the Board for their time.

While that was that, a footnote or two might be added. The Board decided on a $2.50 levy rather than the $2.87 levy. The Board also discussed the $1,150,000.00 Bond issue that had failed also. A motion to resubmit it died for lack of a second. The Board was consistent, they would fight no more two-thirds votes this year. Further, the Board voted new contracts, based on the passage of the $2.50 levy.

But stories never end; episodes continue with new twists and turns. At a special session on April 16, 1968 the unofficial returns indicated the Teachers' Levy failed again, 2,075 to 2,523. The CTA President reported they had voted to invoke sanctions. But:

> Mrs. Girard stated the sanctions were against the voters of the District and not the Board of Education. (4/16/68)
>
> Mr. Tighe, Chairman of the CTA Salary Committee, said he wished to express the Committee's appreciation for the many times the Board had met with the Salary Committee and knew this was more than any other place in the State and he hoped this willingness would continue next year and the years to come.
>
> President Tuley thanked Mrs. Girard and Mr. Tighe for appearing before the Board and asked that the Board be given a report as to what the sanction would be. (4/16/68)

Unanimously, the Board voted to resubmit at $2.50, two weeks later, May 1st. Once again, the teacher story blended with the financing story:

> The Board discussed at considerable length various methods of trying to get State Legislation changed to increase the Foundation Program and more tax equalization among the school districts to relieve the tax burden of property owners.
> (4/16/68)

At the April 23rd meeting, teacher dissatisfaction was expressed in another way. Thirty-five teachers resigned. One fourth gave as a reason, "Signed with another district." Another fourth indicated personal reasons, better position or just "returned contract unsigned." This was the largest single group of resignations recorded, even in what seems a relatively high turnover district. The usual family, husband moving, and returning to school reasons, while present, were far less frequent. A month later another dozen resignations were accepted. We have no data on the characteristics of which teachers left and which stayed.

On May 2nd the levy passed 3,366 to 2,594, a simple majority but well shy of two-thirds.

One of our major generalizations is that "nothing is all of a piece" in innovation and change in schooling. In telling the story of "teacher militancy" or teacher activism over salaries, the outcomes seemed considerable talk, support by the Board, but intransigence on the part of the tax payers in the community, and a move toward sanctions. At the same time, Dr. Jim Luther, the Assistant Superintendent for instruction was organizing teacher committees for text book selections in junior high literature and junior high mathematics, in elementary music and elementary language arts. In secondary science this involved a fundamental revision of the Biology curriculum into a General Biology as a terminal sciences requirement and Biology as a prerequisite to the other high school science courses, e.g. Botany and Zoology. The junior high curriculum also shifted to two year physical science and life science program. Problems with less able students and high failure rates were perceived as the core of the problems. The professional teaching staff had an integral part in these discussions and decisions.

Besides the accent on teacher input into curriculum, we note also that the gradual increase in units of credit available from the dozen and a half in 1931 to 80 plus in the late sixties implies the hiring of specialists who, in turn, were to teach their specialty. The general science and some biology of the late 1920's now includes physical science, basic science, biology, general biology, botany, and zoology.

In addition, physics, chemistry, advanced physics and advanced chemistry are offered. The forces and decisions powering those changes have been apart from the Board's records, if not deliberations.

The American Dilemma in the Georgian Years

The American Dilemma is Gunnar Myrdal's classic phrasing of America's continued perplexity over the relationships between and among its Black and White citizens. From the mid 1920's until 1955, Milford maintained a small elementary school for the children of Black families who resided in the district, and, on occasion, for children from adjacent districts whose numbers were insufficient to support a school. Midwest law prohibited the children from the two races to be educated together. Black adolescents attended high school in Metropolitan City or in Aubuchon Woods, the one suburban community that maintained a separate Black high school. This story wound its way through Volume I of our report.

The story, as a Board of Education issue, ended in the 1954-55 and 1955-56 years with the series of decisions by the U. S. Supreme Court, rulings by the Midwest State Attorney General and decisions by the Milford Board of Education. The issue remained dormant for over a decade, then with all the twists, turns, and convolutions typical of social change, conflicting values, and the continuing tensions between majority will and minority right, it arose once again. This time it had the form of a series of skirmishes. Next time it would be with all the force of one of the major issues in the district in the mid and late 1970's. It's an imperative issue for us for understanding "innovation and change at the Kensington Elementary School," for Kensington which was 100% White in 1964-65 when we first studied it, became 60% Black and 40% White by 1979-80, the year we returned to the school. For the 1980's even larger issues seem on the horizon as mandatory desegregation of the metropolitan area moves through the courts, judges orders, legislative action, and a groundswell of conflicting public opinion organizing into political action are all in contention.

When emotion, prejudice, and multiple moralisms are so much a part of an issue, as they seem to be with this one, and so cloud the "realities" of an issue, it seems important to present, as well as we can, the particulars of one school and one school district. We are neither so naive to believe we can be "objective" in some ultimate sense nor to believe that intense, strongly held and conflicting political issues can be solved by such "cbjective" data and analyses. But situations change, old participants leave the scene and new ones arrive, human action often shows flashes of creativity, insight, and compassion, integrative and compromise solutions appear, and democracy staggers along. It's not a perfect system, but, hopefully, a cut better than any other. Vivid, clear, and somewhat detached images, stories, and interpretations, so we believe, can be a helpful part of these processes.

The Dilemma returned to Milford on April 25, 1967. At the regular meeting of the Board, Mr. Tuley, the President, read a letter from the President of the Board of Metropolitan City. It's contents were incorporated into the minutes:

> In view of the general concern among all school districts for equality of educational opportunity and racial balance, and because such equal opportunity and racial balance is circumscribed by defacto segregation and limited physical facilities within the Metropolitan City boundary, the Metropolitan City Board of Education invites the School Board of Milford as a contiguous and accessible school district, with the approval of the State Department of Education, to cooperate in joint effort to ameliorate this condition by:
>
> 1) Permitting the parents of Negro pupils in overcrowded districts, enrolled in Metropolitan City Public Schools to enroll their children in those Milford district schools which are able to accommodate additional pupils.
> 2) Offering, whenever possible, through the offices of the parent organizations of the Milford district schools, or other suitable arrangement, some means of transportation for those children whose parents are unable to secure transportation themselves.
> 3) Effecting a teacher exchange program whereby regularly employed teachers who volunteer from the Milford School District would be assigned to inner city schools in exchange for the services of regularly employed inner city teachers who volunteer for a period of one school year. Such an exchange policy would continue from year to year so long as both school districts find the policy profitable.
>
> It would appear that a receiving school district would be eligible for the customary State support for such pupils if both the sending and receiving Suburban County superintendents indicate that the receiving school is more accessible than the local school district. Presumably the provision for transportation by the receiving school would be necessary in order to achieve the "accessible" requirement.
>
> The Metropolitan City Board of Education would be pleased to discuss the matter further with you through its representatives if the proposal is of interest to you.

The letter was dated April 19, 1967.

The Board then discussed the issues presented in the letter. From the first recorded minute the twists, turns, intanglements, and convolutions arose:

Mr. Tuley (the Board President) apologized to the Board members for not letting them know immediately of the letter he received from the Metropolitan City Board of Education and for talking with reporters before they were aware of the situation.

The Board discussed the problems of the District in regard to our own overcrowded condition having to bus our children to various schools in the District. It was noted that the Milford tax rate will be $4.05 with voters having approved a 34¢ increase this year as compared to a $2.51 in Metropolitan City. It was the consensus of the Board that since the Metropolitan City Board of Education had not asked the voters of Metropolitan City for a tax increase this year, it would indicate that they were not trying too hard to help their situation. (Our Italics)

Mr. Irby, School Attorney, was asked if we could be compelled to accept this proposition. It was the opinion of Mr. Irby that the District could not be legally required to accept the proposition.

Mr. Wilkerson moved that the Board definitely turn down the proposition of the Metropolitan City Board of Education due to our own overcrowded conditions, staggered sessions, and busing our own children within the District, and Mr. Irby draft a reply to the Metropolitan City Board of Education and present it to the Board at the next regularly scheduled meeting on May 9, 1967. Mr. Reeves seconded the motion and it carried unanimously.

Mr. Reeves read a letter from Mr. James O'Connor expressing his disapproval of the proposal made by the Metropolitan City Board of Education concerning the enrollment of city students in the various county school districts.

A request to speak before the Board by Mrs. Heidenheimer was recognized, in accordance with Policy No. 9460 (Patrons participation).

Mrs. Heidenheimer said she was not in favor of the proposal made by the Metropolitan City Board of Education due to our own problems. She felt Metropolitan City should take care of its own problems as we have tried to take care of ours. If this is allowed, in a very few years we will have the same problems they have in Metropolitan City.

President Tuley told Mrs. Heidenheimer the Board had expressed their opinion and a letter would be sent to the Metropolitan City Board of Education.

> A request to speak before the Board by Mrs. Wilson was recognized, in accordance with Policy No. 9460.
>
> Mrs. Wilson said she didn't see how this could be considered legal on the tax basis since we are paying more taxes than Metropolitan City. (4/25/67)

The Board then went on to its full agenda of regular business; adjournment was at 12:35 A.M.

From our "detached" perspective, and with the vision of a dozen years of hindsight, the letter from Metropolitan City has a strange quality to it, beyond the specifics raised by the Board and the two patrons:

1) It seems a very "hat in hand" appeal implicitly based on the morality and justice of the situation.
2) No issues of possible self interest to the Milford District were raised.
3) The issues of quality education, of pluralism's virtues, or of Milford's contribution to the problem were not yet on the scene.
4) The lack of awareness of issues that were big problems in Milford's recent years and provided a contest for Milford's ideology about schools and ways of living.
   4.1) the recent difficulties over passing tax levies
   4.2) the decade of growth, crowded schools, temporary facilities, and current double schedules
   4.3) the continuous several decades of conflict and unhappy solutions over transporting of pupils
   4.4) the reticence to merge with or cooperate with other districts over anything but special education and vocational education issues
   4.5) the frugality (tightness with a dollar) that has been with the district from early on and that was a major recent problem of Spanman's reign from 1962-66. Although money may be a red herring in some arguments, in Milford it was important in its own right.
   4.6) The recent conservative tide that had come to power in the Board. Cosmopolitanism, a national perspective, and a futurist image of the 21st Century had been rejected with a vehemence. Milford was a decade ahead of the back to basics, moral majority and Reaganism movements.

5) Neither the letter nor the discussion raised Milford's history of the education of Black children over the previous four decades. This included the local Attucks Elementary School, the transporting of adolescent high school student with Board funds to Metropolitan City Black High school, the hiring of at least one Black teacher trained in City Teachers' College, and the role played by the Metropolitan NAACP and the arguments it made for the immediate integration of the high school students in 1954.
6) The flow of post 1954 court decisions (from local to Supreme) also was ignored.

Our close reading of Milford's history suggests these as important items in considering the District's reaction to any reform.

The issue returned to the Board's attention at the next regular meeting on May 9th, 1967. Seven letters had been received from citizens. One of these carried signatures from seven couples. Also received was a letter from a neighboring suburban districst directed to Metropolitan City Board. The Board's letter, drafted by the school attorney also was presented.

The patrons' letters carry much the same content as the Board's statement. In addition, several contained vivid elements of racism and conflicting values. We reproduce only one in toto:

Insert Figure 20 About Here

The arguments in the other letters are variants of the several themes:

> We have had a hard time as it is to pass bond issues.
>
> And let's be frank, to get away from the negro is the main reason everyone moved out to the country.
>
> We believe in the neighborhood concept of education.

April 23, 1967

Dear Sir:

I wish to take strong objection to the proposed plan of city school children attending county schools in general and Milford in particular. What are we paying taxes for and what did we recently vote a tax increase for?

If we wanted to send our children to school with negros we might as well move back to the city for a lot less money a year put out in taxes and other services. What advantage is there in maintaining a decent home for our children if it is to be befouled with these unwanted undersirables. We could probably sell our house to a negro and so could everyone else out here and then your Board of Education could beg for money from taxpayers and see how you would get it. Do we white parents have no rights at all anymore, no say whatever?

Please consider this plea and send in an emphatic NO to this proposal.

Sincerely,

Figure 20: A Letter From a Milford Patron

> I have written to our congressman about it, which is something I've never done before.
>
> If our school officials in the Milford District approve this proposal we will never vote Yes to another bond issue.

The President of the Oak Grove Board of Education, a district known for its liberalism among Suburban County districts sent a ditto copy of his letters to the Metropolitan City Board to Milford's President. The second letter seemed to carry some anger over the manner in which the first had been disseminated. The second is presented as Figure 21.

Insert Figure 21 About Here

The April 23rd letter reflected the tax issue and the fundamental budget control exerted by the citizenry. Figure 22 contains that letter.

Insert Figure 22 About Here

Milford's Board of Education unanimously approved a letter to be sent to the President of the Metropolitan City Board of Education "and copies to be sent to the other school districts involved and to all newspapers." Milford's Board rarely seems to do anything secretively. The letter contains the local and idiosyncratic problems facing the district and the solutions which have been implemented on the way to the sentence containing the "we are sorry" conclusion. The letter is reproduced in toto as Figure 23.

Insert Figure 23 About Here

May 5, 1967

Dear Mr. Carmicheal:

This is a formal acknowledgement of your letter of April 19. Our Board has discussed this letter at its meeting May 4.

The Oak Grove Board does not consider it wise or feasible to indicate any possibility that this school district would be in a position to follow any of the courses of action suggested in your letter.

You know that I personally gave you a statement in California on April 23 after learning that someone in your administration or Board offce gave to the press what I thought was a personal letter. In order that all of your board colleagues have the opportunity to share that statement as well as the above, I am enclosing 12 copies of it and this letter for your dissemination to them.

Respectfully yours,

John M. Mandelmann
President,
Board of Education

Figure 21: Second Letter From Oak Grove District

April 23, 1967

Dear Mr. Carmicheal:

The quality of education in any school district is determined by the goodwill of the people who support and pay for it.

We in Oak Grove are curtailing our proposed 1967-68 budget by approximately $250,000 because our citizenry refused twice to support the tax cost. What they are supporting still makes our local tax rate $4.29. Our people pay additionally an Exceptional Children Education tax rate of $.25. This represents a tremendous local effort.

The Metropolitan City School District has a tax base of almost $3000 per student more than Oak Grove. The tax rate of the Metropolitan School District is $2.51. If their Board of Education and citizens made a comparable effort they could enjoy a building class size and educational program similar to ours.

The responsibility of planning such a program and communicating it to the people of their school district for their support rests with the Board of Education of Metropolitan City.

The Metropolitan City Board of Education's decision in March indicated their ability and desire to maintain the status quo of their programs for the next school year, with the same low tax rate.

Now one month later they are telling us they cannot house and educate their students with that low tax rate. Our recent experience in local tax raising makes it seem improbable that our community would support the additional burdens of educating children from another school district.

Sincerely,

John M. Mandelman
President,
Board of Education

Figure 22: First Letter from Oak Grove District

May 9, 1967

Dear Mr. Carmicheal:

Your letter comes at a time when the Milford School Board has just approved the administration's recommendation regarding the attendance areas of our eleven elementary schools. In setting up these attendance areas for the coming year, we find that we must move the kindergarten students from five schools because of lack of space.

In another area of the District, we are forced to move some seventy elementary students from one school to another to relieve overcrowding. As a result of this and expected expansion, we do not have spare rooms available.

At the elementary level next year, we will also restore a full year of kindergarten as a result of an increase in our tax rate voted by the patrons in March of this year. This is one of the reasons for moving our kindergarten children.

At the junior high level we are currently adding rooms to both junior high plants in order to take care of additional enrollment and relieve the present crowded conditions. In the case of our New Junior High School, this construction is a year late and as a result we have our seventh, eighth, and ninth grade students attending school on a staggered shift basis from 7:00 a.m. until 5:20 p.m.

At the Senior High School level, we are nearing peak enrollments. We expect a larger increase in enrollment due to the increase in tuition in the local parochial high schools. As yet we do not know what this increase in enrollment will be.

In your letter you suggest that the State funds paid for average daily attendance would be paid to the Milford District for those students who come from the City. At present the ADA amount is $137.25 per child which, of course, does not come anywhere near the $500.00 per pupil spent by the Milford School District. This brings us to the question of the economics involved. We would point out to you that the tax rate in Milford for the 1967-68 school year will be $4.05 per $100 assessed valuation, while yours in the City is far behind that. We feel therefore, it would not be fair to our patrons to ask them to tax themselves at a very high rate and in addition subsidize education for students in the City.

Your letter also poses another problem in regard to transportation. Since we are spending some $80,000 this year to operate our thirty-one buses in transporting our 9,300 students to school, we feel that this would be an even more insurmountable problem than the ones already enumerated. Your letter is rather vague in regard to how the transportation would be paid for and how it would be organized.

In addition to these items, we also have the legal aspects involved in Midwest State Statutes in regard to whether or not these schools are more accessible than the others. The legal aspects, as you mentioned, would be tied in rather closely with the transportation problems as mentioned above.

We believe the applicability of Midwest State Statutes to the proposal that you suggest is a matter of doubt if between a metropolitan district and a six-director district. Other statutes pertaining to tuition, transportation, and state aid do not seem to contemplate such a proposal and would need clarification either by court interpretation or by amendments, even if our District was in a position to absorb students from your District.

While we truly sympathize with you in the problem of housing your students, we are sorry that we are unable to offer our facilities to help you find any solution at this time.

Sincerely yours,

William Tuley, President
Milford Board of Education

Figure 23: Milford's Letter to Metropolitan City

Two weeks later, May 23, 1967, an event occurred which no one expected to be linked with the issues of racial change. A realtor indicated that he had purchased a golf course in the District (and in the Kensington attendance area) and that he planned to build a total of 143 homes there. Later, some of the area would be built as apartments rather than single family homes. The apartments would appeal to a more transient population and Kensington's Black pupils would come, in part, from there. Still later the management would change policy and permit no families with children.[17] But those events are later parts of the story.

The merging of economic and racial issues appeared in the Autumn of 1967. Potomac, a nearby district, petitioned the other nearby districts and the State to cause the District to be:

> ...merged, annexed, and otherwise made a part of a larger school district with proper size and taxable property base to afford the necessary and equal educational facilities to all school age children of Suburban County. (10/3/67)

Potomac District was 99% Black. The Milford Board acknowledged receipt of the letter from the attorney. Later, the Federal Courts would find a neighboring district guilty of contributing to Potomac's segregated status and the court would order the two districts to merge.

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[17] These events occurred after 1979-80. In a later year Kensington lost 50-70 Black pupils because of changes in housing policies by the apartment management.

The Board of Education in Metropolitan City had elected a new President, John Hollander. He and the Superintendent of Schools were calling a community meeting of leaders from business, labor, and religious groups regarding a report which advocated:

> ...government action at the local, state and federal levels to deal with school needs. It asks for the mobilization of public and private forces in attacking the ghetto problems. It shows that the stakes are survival of the total community. (2/20/68)

The Secretary of the Milford Board read the letter to the Board.

So, slowly and episodically, the American Dilemma was returning to Milford. Metropolitan City was in the throes of change, as were many urban communities across the country. Population changes, the movement of young middle class families to suburban areas resulted in the population explosion in Milford and surrounding communities. For a number of years, tax levies and bond issues passed readily, schools were built and staffed. Metropolitan City's increasingly Black and increasingly poorer population had a variety of educational problems. In the eyes of the Milford Board (and others in Suburban County) the problems were made more difficult by the District's unwillingness to tax itself. The two and a half dollar levies were very different from the four to five dollar levies that Milford and other districts struggled with. It joined with the localist sentiments, take care of one's own, which had deep roots in Milford, in spite of the brief cosmopolitan dance exemplified by Spanman's short tenure. And, as several of the patron letters indicate, a current of racism existed in the community as well.

Superintendent George's Administrative Style and the Milford Context: Initial Interpretation

The most significan item from the narrative of Ron George's assuming the position of Superintendent involved the composition of the new Board and its containment and bounding of the field of action open to the new incumbent. The Board wanted an inside appointment, a localist, a person who would return to the McBride philosophy. Although firey, outspoken, impetuous, by his own definition and from the observation of his colleagues, Ron George, the President of the CTA, had fought hard for McBride. The Board had made all the central office and principal appointments before hiring the Superintendent. They offered a salary less than they paid Spanman. The appointment was for one year.

Into this context, the new Superintendent entered, and, now at the close of his first two years, several generalizations about his style seem warranted from the Board minutes and the agendas. Administrative style seems similar to artistic style--a particular patterning of elements that give an identity to the way in which one works, manages, and leads.

Perhaps the most important of these is an implicit commitment to the split between policy and administration. The Board makes policy; the Superintendent administers. Gone are the lengthily developed arguments and rationales culminating into a resolution for action about all aspects of the Milford Schools. Month after month, as we recounted in the several themes on financing the schools, the developing metropolitan dimensions of the American Dilemma, and the move toward lengthy discussions, if not negotiations, with the CTA Salary Committee, the Superintendent's agenda contains almost no items raising, clarifying, or advocating positions on these controversial issues. The Board talks, argues, and comes to its views and positions which the Superintendent then implements.

But the split between policy making and administration, in our perspective, is not an all or none, black or white phenomenon, rather it seems a continuum. And the marker indicating the degree seems to move back and forth over the years, between and within the tenure of any one superintendent. Our reading of the data, is that the Milford Board of Education, in the Spring of 1966 "took back" its power--not only for policy formation but for administration as well. The strongest evidence lies in the settling of all teacher appointments and even more critically, principal and central office appointments before any action was taken on the appointment of the superintendent.

This contrasts vividly with the agenda-setting propensity of Spanman, who, in dealing with "administration matters" pushed his interrelated decisions and actions to the limit of setting policy for the Board. He overwhelmed them with such an array of ideas, alternatives, data, and recommendations. All of these were interlocked into larger and larger patterns and structures that left the Board no way to initiate or set parameters or think more generally, abstractly, or long term. He was already there.

In turn, these relationships of Spanman's contrast with McBride's relationship which was more episodic. The strong Board President in the 1950's took the policy initiative away, had McBride, the Superintendent, fired on a 4-2 vote, only to find that McBride had "jumped the system" by helping defeat two incumbents (one the Board President), who opposed him. The 4-2 Board became a 2-4 Board, which set policy congruent with McBride's philosophy and perspective.

Another way of phrasing this is the reactive end of the proactive--reactive dimension. In this way, Ron George contrasted very sharply with his predecessor, Steven Spanman's style. In this way too, he seemed to be precisely what the new Board wanted in a superintendent.

In his later years, and perhaps earlier as well, Dr. George conveys another image, at least as he meanders about the Administration building, which contrasts sharply with Spanman's approach. Dr. George tends to blur the distinctions between his personal-family worlds and his professional world. He had taught in the District for a number of years. Many of the teachers, some older than he, remember him as "Ron", a volatile young teacher who taught next door or down the hall. They retain a gentle kidding or teasing relationship with him. Others know him through his children who attended the Milford Schools, or as part of a group of young people who bought a home in the District, and who raised their children here. On occasion, his family is in and out of the building and he totes his young grandchild about. Still others know him as an avid stamp collector, who on occasion, has a pile of recently acquired envelopes, stamps, and related items scattered about his already cluttered office.

Another element, about which we have less data, concerns Milford personnel policy. Our hunch is that Milford began hiring fewer people from outside the metropolitan area than in the Spanman years. This seems unquestionably true of the Kensington faculty and the broad recruitment trips initiated by Spanman for the District and the hiring of outsiders for several key administrative positions. Now principals and central office administrators are all hired from within the District pool of talent. More tenuous in our records, we believe there has been a larger increase in hiring young teachers and support staff who are graduates of Milford High School. Temporary clerical and maintenance staff seem drawn heavily from the school population. In addition, we have been struck by a kind of nepotism--teachers who are related--husbands, wives, sons, daughters, nieces, and nephews of other teachers and staff.[18]

Whether there are the elements of "localism" or not, we are not sure. Perhaps they are better categorized as familial or communitarian. Or perhaps as stability, status quo, or staying for the long haul.

Another way of saying all this, is that the Superintendent is less visible, less assertive, less center stage. He helps run the District the way the patrons, as represented by the Board, want the District to be run. It brings to mind the old cliche, the leader as "servant of the people." Underneath the label, we believe, is an alternative and very powerful perspective and model of the superintendency.

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[18] These later hypotheses haven't been pursued intensively or compared with data from other districts and parts of the country. Our earlier work in Appalachia (Smith and Pohland, 1974) suggested a similar finding.

6.4 Conclusion of the Initial Years

As one reads the minutes and develops a narrative of Dr. George's first years, several close-to-the-data generalizations appear.

1) The Board has reasserted itself and taken back power which had escaped to Spanman, the earlier incumbent.
2) Frugality and localism vied with each other as to which was instrumental and which was master value. Sometimes they cut ties to save money and sometimes they saved money to turn inward on themselves, their own problems, and their own resources.
3) While opposing state legislation for a teacher tenure law, the Board spent considerable time in good faith discussions, if not negotiations, and cooperative efforts with the local CTA.
4) School boundaries--between Milford and other districts and within Milford (elementary attendance area)--remained nearly sacrosanct. When given a vote, the patrons wanted the status quo. When not given a vote they continued to protest vigorously.
5) Simmering, just off stage, about ready to return, is the American Dilemma.
6) Finally, we find the new Superintendent, for the moment, overshadowed by the Board, in tune with the conservative, frugal, localist sentiments, gradually learning his job and developing his style.

7. SUPERINTENDENT GEORGE'S "QUIET" MIDDLE YEARS: 1968-74

7.1 Introduction

To speak of "quiet years" in the life of a superintendent of schools may seem to reflect naivete if not a loss of contact with reality. But with our focus on "innovation and change" in the district this was a time of quietness, stability, and gradual yet pervasive increase in ideological conservatism. The day to day business predominates, with a few exceptions. In August of 1968, the Board "received" the Senior High Yearbook, paid the Summer bills, permitted the Jehovah's Witnesses the use of the Senior High Gymnasium and Cafeteria, arranged for the annual inspection of school buildings, awarded contracts for gasoline, oil and antifreeze, made arrangements with the Office of Civil Defense to store supplies at the Marquette School, bought ten sewing machines and cabinets for the New Junior High School, instructed the Attorney to prepare the papers for the bond issue, accepted the resignations of eight more teachers, elected 18 teachers, and continued the tax sheltered annuity program for a half dozen noncertificated and and half dozen certificated personnel. The meeting adjourned at 11:42 P.M.

7.2 The Story Continues

Patrons, Poverty, and Other Problems

In the Autumn of 1968, the first try at a bond issue failed the two-third's criterion, 2,992 Yea versus 1,821 Nay. Regarding the tax levy, the CTA Salary Committee met with the Board. The Board President asked:

> ...a member of the Committee to go over the District's books and see if they don't come up with the same figures as the Administrator. He said last year this was not done and they were always quoting different figures. (10/15/68)

The Board continued its very open and cooperative stance.

The North Central Association's secondary evaluation program came to the district in 1968-69 for the first time. This was the year of self study; next year would bring in a group of outside educators. On the Superintendent's recommendation, the Board approved the costs of the evaluation on October 22nd. A month later, the Assistant Superintendent, the High School Principal, and the Chairman of the Steering Committee presented the issues briefly and engaged in a discussion on the evaluation format with the Board.

The Bond Issue for $1,800,000 was defeated a second time in December, 2,168 to 1,546. The Board voted unanimously to resubmit in January. Finally it passed 4,295 versus 1,849 on January 28th.

In December, Mr. Edmonds resigned from the Board as he was leaving the community. The Board took no action to replace him. No reasons were given.

A notice of a regional meeting of the White House Conference on Education in January was read to the Board.

Mr. Newton, Director of Adult Education, reported on the Adult Education Program. The "self sustaining" program ranked eighth in the State (presumably in size).

The lunch program returned in the form of a motion to:

> ...designate the Assistant Superintendent for Administration to determine which individual children are eligible for free or reduced price lunches under the established policy criteria. (1/14/69)

The Superintendent was the person to whom appeals would be made. According to the Superintendent's remarks, the 90th Congress was moving toward "a more uniform national policy for evaluating need and protecting the identity of needy children" (1/14/69). The new regulations required written policies, clear indication of delegated authority, appeal procedures, and confidentiality procedures. The initial National School Lunch Act had been passed originally in 1946.

Also in February, the Board approved unanimously all the administrators salaries and two-year contracts for the succeeding year. Dr. George received a new three-year contract at $2,000 more than the highest paid Assistant Superintendent, $20,295. In these trying financial times, Dr. George finally was catching up with his predecessor's salary.

In Febuary, 1969, the Board returned again to general financing of the District. They voted to submit the following levies:

Teachers	$2.89
Incidental	1.00
Building	.25
Debt Service	.71
Total	$4.85

Contingent on passing the levy, the minimum teachers' salaries would be increased $500.00 to a $6,300 base. The Superintendent's Agenda contained these remarks:

> The CTA Salary Negotiating Committee and the Board of Education Negotiating Committee have reviewed and discussed various proposals and counter proposals. In addition, the entire CTA, as well as the Board of Education, have considered various salary possibilities. At a meeting on February 11, 1969, the two committees reached an agreement. This agreement is to have a $6300 base with all other features of the salary schedule to remain the same. (1/25/69)

Curriculum issues arose in March, 1969 in three separate items. The North Central Evaluation continued on schedule. The chairpersons of the Philosophy and Objectives Committee and the School and Community Committee met with the Board, along with Dr. Luther, the Assistant Superintendent, and Mr. Bakan, the High School Principal. The Board approved the District's participation in a Title III Social Studies Project. It approved a new high school course in Power Mechanics. A Title I Summer Program, with $14,617 from the State Department was underway. The regular elementary, secondary, and music Summer programs were continued.

The tax levy failed in March, 2,382 versus 3,157. The same levy was defeated again in April, 1,364 versus 3,166. Reports continued to circulate about groups across Midwest State trying to influence the legislature to change the two-third's requirement, to increase cigarette taxes for schools, and so forth (4/22/69). The levy failed again in May, 3,382 versus 3,105. Teacher CTA delagates were given released time to join other groups in Capitol City to meet with state legislators. The Board reactivated the Citizens' Advisory Committee of the District.

On May 13, 1969, overcrowding in one of the schools required youngsters from McBride School to be bussed to Johnson and Marquette. The parents' petition stated:

> ...that neither the best interest of the children involved nor of the community as a whole will be served by this decision. (5/13/69)

Changing school boundaries and moving children about, never happens in Milford without complaints, petitions, and argument.

At the same meeting, May 13, 1969, enumeration data were presented to the Board by the Superintendent. No minute was made over any discussion nor action. In retrospect, it was an ominous sign of the demographic scythe which was to cut in reverse direction and become a part of the mid and late 1970's turmoil faced by the Superintendent, the Milford Board, and ultimately, the community. These data are in Figure 24.

Insert Figure 24 About Here

In the midst of all the money problems, the Secretary and Treasurer of the Board in independent motion, again moved that they refuse compensation for their services. These amounts were $50 and $150/year. This continued an earlier precedent. Board officers in Milford received no remuneration for their services.

The CTA executive and salary committees met with the Board, this same evening (5/2769), "to discuss various ideas of publicity for the Special Election on June 10, 1969." One decision was to have a meeting of all school personnel Thursday, June 5, at 9:00 A.M.

On June 10, 1969 the levy was defeated once again, 4,021 to 3,021. That evening the Board voted unanimously to resubmit on June 26th at the

Age	1969	1965	Increase or Decrease
0	564	710	- 146
1	691	922	- 231
2	759	967	- 208
3	812	1,101	- 289
4	878	1,140	- 262
5	991	1,242	- 251
Total	4,695	6,082	-1,387
6	996	1,238	- 242
7	1,136	1,330	- 194
8	1,164	1,358	- 194
9	1,139	1,274	- 135
10	1,179	1,225	- 46
11	1,213	1,187	+ 26
12	1,237	1,188	+ 49
13	1,222	1,068	+ 154
14	1,098	916	+ 182
15	1,084	908	+ 176
16	1,069	885	+ 184
17	1,017	757	+ 260
18	811	774	+ 37
19	710	376	+ 334
Total	15,075	14,484	+ 591
Summary			
0-5	4,695	6,082	-1,387
6-19	15,075	14,484	+ 591
Total	19,770	20,566	- 796

Figure 24: School Enumeration of Milford 1965 versus 1969

same rate. Correspondence continued with State Representatives supporting increased state aid to schools. A variety of complications continued in the form of moves for tax equalization in Suburban County where the differences between the poorest districts and the wealthiest districts was substantial. Not so latent in the financial battles were proposals for varying kinds of consolidation of school districts. As we have indicated, this issue always brought out strong negative sentiments in parts of the larger suburban community. Further complications existed in opinion on the elimination of tax free regulations on municipal bonds. The Milford Board unanimously opposed "the elimination of tax exemption on Municipal Bonds" (6/24/69). Also on June 24th, the Board voted to proceed with next year's budget based on the total tax rate of $4.85.

On June 26th at a special session, the unofficial returns indicated the levy had failed once more:

> After a short discussion of the Teachers' Levy, it was the consensus of the Board that a decision not be made at this time and a meeting be held Tuesday, July 1, 1969, to discuss the Teachers' Levy with members of the Citizens' Advisory Committee, Mothers' Circles, PTA's, Ministers, City Officials, and any interested person of the District. (6/26/69)

In a sense, the State rescued the Milford District. The legislature passed the cigarette tax and the District would receive approximately $300,000.00, roughly the equivalent of the $.39 tax increase (from $2.50-$2.89 on the teachers' levy). The Board talked with the citizens' groups attending the meeting. Later, in executive session, the Board talked with the CTA representatives "to discuss the teachers' viewpoint on the levy." Shortly thereafter the Board voted to submit, on July 17th, the $2.50 levy which required only a simple majority.

From time to time, we have incorporated in our report, total sets of minutes of particular meetings because they captured an image of educational life, community, policy, and administration in the Milford District. Such was the case of the Special Meeting on July 17th, to receive the unofficial election returns:

> Mr. Eastland read the unofficial election returns, which were 3,813 for the levy and 908 against the levy.
>
> Dr. George informed the Board that a letter certifying the $4.46 tax rate for the 1969-70 year would be sent to the County Tax Commissioner's Office.
>
> Mr. Adams arrived at 8:12 P.M.
>
> Mr. Tuley moved that the administration be authorized to proceed with plans to have the Acme Electric Company complete electrical work on the new sports tower at the Senior High School, including a 1,000 amp panel, for the bid price of $5,966.00 and that plans be made for the Maintenance Department and the Dad's Club to proceed with erection of the tower. Mr. Wells seconded the motion and it carried unanimously.
>
> Dr. George read a letter from Mr. Billing at the County Audio-Visual Office inviting the Board and administration to preview the sex education films available from the County Audio-Visual Department. No action was taken regarding this request.
>
> A discussion of the type of sex education provided by the District ensued. The District doesn't have a K-12 sequential sex education program, and there are no plans, at this time, to institute such a program. The District, over the years, has incorporated sex education in the science and health departments and has cooperated with elementary Mothers' Circles in providing after school sessions in sex education with parental approval, for elementary children.
>
> Dr. George informed the Board that letters of appreciation for their roles in providing additional state funds were sent to State Senators and Representatives.

> Their being no further business to come before the Board, Mr. Tuley moved that the meeting be adjourned. Mr. Wells seconded the motion and it carried unanimously. The President declared the meeting adjourned at 8:51 P.M. (7/17/69)

Money, athletics, sex, and politics, the staples of American life, or at least successful movels of American life, are indigenous to American Schools, or at least to Milford Schools, on this occasion. Small wonder that strong sentiments and intractable conflict runs just below the surface of Board's deliberations and central office administrative actions.

Perhaps also a less tongue in check summary comment might be made. In this first year of the "quiet" middle period, the multitude of groups influencing the direction of the District in conjunction with the Board should be noted. The CTA Salary Committee was invited to inspect the financial records. The North Central Association came for the first time with its evaluative criteria for the High School. The patrons voted, and voted, and voted. The regional White House Conference was occurring. The participating citizens in the community were paying for the Adult Education Program. The Federal government was altering aspects of the school lunch program. Title I and Title III programs of ESEA arrived. The state legislature passed a cigarette tax for schools. A Citizens' Advisory Committee was reactivated. And lingering on the side lines, but beginning to appear were changes in demography--the shift in population of children in the community. Preschool, elementary, and secondary figures show the post war population wave was running out.

In November, 1969, the North Central Evaluation proceeded and the Board received the High School self study report and met with the Steering Committee. On March 10th, the Board received the final report. Milford continued to become more and more a part of the national educational fabric.

The District also participated in an exchange student program at the High School level. Into such a curricular innovation comes on occasion, a touch of warmth:

> Dr. George read a thank you note to the Board from Miss Goteburg, a foreign exchange student from Scandinavia attending Senior High School, thanking the Board for the ski jacket the Board gave her for Christmas. (1/13/70)

We don't have data on the immediate consequences for Milford of such a program. When our thoughts run back to the origins of Milford High School in the late 1920's and early 1930's, the transformation seems incredible for the forty year period.

In an earlier discussion, we made the generalization that the schools gradually adopt the developing technology available in the larger community or environment. In this instance, increasing size and complexity of the District joined with availability. The Superintendent's agenda in January, 1970 spoke to the issue of "Budgetary and Payroll Accounting Equipment":

> In 1956, the School District purchased an NCR #31 bookkeeping machine. This machine was replaced by an NCR #33 in 1961. Both of these machines were primarily the same in operation and capacity. Our present machine has a nine total capacity. The vast increase in financial accounting and number of employees has made the present equipment rather inadequate.

> There has also been a continuing rate of deductions for employees due to additional taxes and fringe benefits, plus the continued changing of these deductions such as federal and state income tax, insurance, social security, and retirement plans. At the present, an employee could elect to have twenty deductions or entrees on his check, depending on the type of position. (1/27/70)

After considering several plans, the Superintendent recommended and the Board approved unanimously:

> ...that the District purchase the Burroughs direct accounting computer, Style E4493, from Burroughs Corporation for $22,941, plus a programing change of $2,391, or a total of $25,332. (1/27/70)

Our more general experience in Milford suggests that the District lags behind most business organizations on the adoption of this technology. Xerox machines and word processors do not exist yet in the District offices.[19]

In February, 1970, in what begins to look like an annual event now, the Board and the CTA Salary Committee proposals were up for discussion. The minutes recorded it this way:

> Mr. Tuley said a discussion of the Board's proposal and the CTA proposal were discussed, i.e., insurance, substitute pay, released time for CTA Presidents, phones, and longevity steps. However, the CTA Negotiating Team did not have any cost figures on any of these items. A meeting was scheduled for March 9, 1970, for further discussion of these items and the remaining items of the CTA proposal and the status of State financing. (2/10/70)

---

[19] In contrast, former Superintendent Spanman, now a Professor of Education, remains surrounded by technology. He has his personal Apple computer in his office. See Volume V for an extended account of the consistency in his orientation.

The Board continues its tradition of meeting and talking with representatives of the Community Teachers Association, in spite of the frustrations connected with limited resources, due to an inability to convince the patrons to vote higher levies.

In February, 1970, the Board voted the administration's new two-year contract and the Superintendent a new three-year contract. They carried unanimously. Insofar as this is an important criterion of mutual satisfaction, the Board and the administration seemed to be working well together.

For those of us on university campuses in the late 1960's and early 1970's, when turmoil, conflict, and different perspectives occurred in high relief, the minimal problems in student activism in the elementary and secondary schools seems unreal. The Milford Board of Education seemed apart from most of this. In March, 1970, a letter from a High School student was "received" and became a part of the minutes. We present it as Figure 25. It's uniqueness, a single instance, speaks dramatically for the general state of the system.

Insert Figure 25 About Here

At any given moment, discriminating between a one off occurrence and a straw-in-the-wind is a very difficult perceptual judgement. The sentiments driving this one high school senior will coalesce dramatically a year later.

ATTENTION MILFORD SCHOOL BOARD

Do you know that you are operating in violation of the Constitution, not to mention several court decisions? Your prohibition of buttons, armbands, and insignias (such as ☮, ♀) is in clear violation of the First Amendment and several court cases: including Tinker versus Des Moines and Burnside versus Bryars. An additional interesting case is West Virginia versus Barnette. (For your full enlightenment obtain the Early September, 1969 copy of the Washington (D.C.) Free Press, 1522 Connecticutt Avenue and turn to page 7.) Can an American school system operate that way? In the decision of Terminello versus Chicago the court gave this view of American rights: "...this sort of hazardous freedom and openness--that is the basis of our national strength and of the independence and vigor of Americans who grow up and live in this relatively permissive society." You are doing a pretty poor job of educating your pupils for personal involvement in the democratic processes when you forbid students the most basic individual right--freedom of speech and expression. You had better wake up, Milford School Board, before someone besides the few politically aware students on your campuses recognize your repression of ideas dissimilar to your own.

Edward Connor ☮
Milford Senior High

copy to:

Figure 25: Letter from a High School Senior

If student Edward Connor's pleas for changing an aspect of the Milford School District were falling for the moment on deaf ears, the pleas of the teachers had fared better in the state legislature. On April 7th, 1970:

> Mr. Irby, School Attorney, and the Board discussed the various aspects of the Teacher Tenure Law which becomes effective July 1, 1970.

Later in the evening:

> Mr. Tuley moved that the Board rescind Board Policy No. 4119.3--Notification of Unsatisfactory Service--so it can be revised to comply with the Teacher Tenure Law. Mr. Wells seconded the motion and it carried unanimously. (4/7/70)

A major change in the ground rules of school governance had occurred. Presumably the Nussbaum's of the world, if not having their retribution, now would have to be treated differently.

Two days later in Special session, the Board election results were received. The only incumbent running, Eastland was re-elected, and a newcomer, Mr. Pearce also joined the Board. The Superintendent was directed to write:

> ...a board policy regarding a teacher retiring at age 65 in keeping with the Teacher Tenure Law. (4/9/70)

The Board, as usual, moved the re-employment of teachers at each of the schools.

On April 28th, three members of Suburban County's drug abuse organization spoke to the Board. The Superintendent indicated they should make appointments with the junior high school principals. The smoking problem took on another aroma. Discipline issues now involved not only reasonably simple rights and wrongs of personal behavior and relationships among students, teachers, and administrators but also the larger community. Laws and penalities existed regarding controlled substances; public agencies at many levels, this time the County, representing different parts of the community were "working" on the "problems." Milford's Board and administration were cooperating in those efforts.

Faculty and student rights intertwined regarding another brief minute in the Board record:

> Mr. Peter Alena, a faculty member of the Senior High School who had been reassigned to the Central Office, asked to speak to the Board in regard to his beard and why he was taken out of his classroom.
>
> The Board informed Mr. Alena there were other factors involved besides the beard, but, in regard to the beard, they felt that since there was a dress code at the Senior High School it was the responsibility of a teacher to set an example for the students and to teach the students the responsibility of adhering to rules and regulations even though they think they are wrong until such time as a rule may be changed by working through proper procedures. (4/28/70)

The complexities of individual rights, organizational demands, philosophies of change, multiple perspectives, and power (immediate and long term) were being operationalized.

The administrative action of Mr. Alena's reassignment provoked both a letter from a citizen who found the action "absolutely incredible" and a more restrained letter from the President of the East Suburban County Ministerial Alliance whose members had heard the story on local TV. A paragraph from that letter raises another perspective:

> As Pastors we are concerned both for the rights of the individual and for quality education, concerns which we are certain you and the Board of Education share. To this end, we would appreciate a full appraisal at your earliest convenience so we can assist in interpreting the District's policies among our congregation. (4/24/70)

The local community has many subparts. They begin to stir at different times over different issues.

Issues such as these are never simple and one dimensional. Some of the complications appeared in a letter from Peter Alena to an assistant principal of the high school, dated two months earlier, February 24, 1970:

> This is to inform you that I do not intend to return to Milford. At present my plans for next year are to continue in law school at City University, but in the day division. Currently I am enrolled in the night division, but I do not feel that I am giving either my position at Milford or law school the attention they deserve. I hope this early announcement will facilitate matters and aid you in your work. Also, at this time, I want to thank you for all the time and trouble you have spent in helping a freshman teacher adjust to a new experience. Be assured it has been greatly appreciated.
>
> Sincerely yours,
>
> Peter Alena

Crisscrossing the rights issues are those of a beginning teacher, an individual still making early career decisions, and a person trying out two demanding career options.

What kind of a society do we want? What kind of schools as a part of that society? Who is we--kids, teachers, administrators, board, and citizens? Analytically, these are ethical questions, socio-political questions, and organizational questions. And perhaps that is what educational questions are—ultimately. For those of us trained in educational science and research that seems an "awe-fully" large domain outside the usual scope of expertness.

But District business continued. The Spring, 1970, tax levy met with defeat—2,292 for and 4,363 against. Poverty remained a major contextual given. Meanwhile the complexity of the High School curriculum increased a notch, the State Department approved as AAA, K-6-3-3 with 82½ total credits. A Housing Committee report for 1970-71 was approved and a District wide study of school boundaries be presented in October of 1970.

The housing report reflected several major items: the placement of kindergarten children remained a problem for their numbers were always larger than the numbers in the early grades because some children went from public kindergarten to parochial elementary schools. Second, some schools were more crowded and others were more empty. Third, the Suburban County Exceptional Children's Program rented classrooms in local schools. Fourth, the continuous construction of apartment complexes shifted populations in particular schools. Kensington was involved in both the kindergarten issues (100 pupils) and the apartment complex issues (29 pupils).

On June 23, 1970, the Board voted to resubmit the $5.43 levy. They met with the "CTA Crisis Committee" and a group of patrons. They would decide in August when to submit the levy and to reach a:

> ...decision as to when school would open... (6/23/70)

The Suburban County Teachers' Association sent a letter in support of the Milford Board's resubmission of the levy.

The year didn't really end. The calendar just ran out. And that maybe important conceptionally. Some of us have a conception of educational time that has units of multiple lengths--a class period, a day, a week, a term, a semester, and a year.[20] A concept such as the "rhythm of the year" breaks down here. Some items clearly have a yearly pattern or regularity—e.g. opening school, semester grades, holidays (especially) for the younger children); hiring teachers; closing school. The Board is wrestling now with problems of a different scope, complexity, and a different kind of unit or interval.

A Year of Trauma: Part One

In some families, small groups or communities year's become known more by significant events than by their normal dates. In Milford, 1970-71 was the year they closed the schools. But, as we shall see it was much more than that. Hints had been occurring in the late months of 1969-70. The District was having trouble with a tax levy--which wasn't all that unusual. The CTA, though, had a crisis committee. The Board refused to state a date for resubmitting the levy and also refused to set a date for the opening of school in the Autumn. These were unusual events. On Tuesday, August 11, the Board met in special session in the New Junior High School Cafeteria "to discuss the tax levy and any other business pertinent to the operation of the School District."

---

[20] Smith and Brock (1970) raise the issue of multiple kinds of units, common sense and technical, from the teacher's perspective.

Some 300 people were in attendance. Lengthy discussion occurred of the need for the levy, volunteers were recruited to work on a committee, and Mr. Foresman volunteered to chair the group. The Board unanimously voted for:

Teachers Levy	3.28
Incidental	1.19
Building	.25
Debt Service	.71
Total	5.43

The amount that would appear on the ballot was $3.47. Election was set for September 8th. The meeting adjourned at 12:03 A.M.

The regular business of the Board continued. On September 8th, the levy failed, 6,145 to 6,370. The Board met on the 8th, discussed the issues, thanked patrons and high school student leaders who had helped, set Monday, September 14th as opening day for school, and prepared for closing the schools October 23rd if the levy continued to fail.

The discussion, as recorded in the minutes, took several novel turns. Pete Tucker, the President of the Milford High School Student Council, speaking for the student body, argued for not opening the schools:

> He said they were afraid that if schools opened, people would not feel the situation was as serious since schools did open. However, he wanted the Board to know the students would do everything they could to pass the levy although they would not be able to work as they had before since they would be in school. (9/8/70)

The Superintendent argued that by opening the schools they would have fewer days to make up at a later date. He also argued for a two-year levy rather than for a single year. Mrs. Wedgewood, the President of the CTA argued for the levy but for one year:

> A decision to run a two-year levy, we feel, will reduce the planned quality of the educational program in this District. We cannot and will not support an inferior educational program. Therefore, we ask that the Board not submit a proposal for a two-year levy. We recommend that the Board keep top quality education in Milford. (9/8/70)

The Board, unanimously, voted for a levy in the same amoubnt but for two years. Balloting would be on September 24th.

If we see that discussion clearly, the assumption is that eventually schools would open and a full acredited year would occur. If schools closed for a while, complications would come in running late into the following Summer. The teachers seemed to be trying to prevent the full weight falling on themselves a year hence in no salary increases.

On September 17th, the Board met in special session and, in a series of unanimous votes, reconsidered its decisions of September 8th and voted a new series of decisions. A smaller levy was sought:

Teachers Levy	3.04
Incidental	1.13
Building	.25
Debt Service	.71
Total	5.13

Twenty-four cents was taken from the teachers' levy and six cents from the incidental levy. The total on the ballot would be $3.17 rather than $3.47. The levy would run for two years. The election was reset for October 6th.

At the regular Board meeting September 22nd, another hard reality of public schooling appeared:

> In response to *twenty-five* letters sent to Mayors and Aldermen in the Milford School District inviting them to attend the Board meeting to discuss the tax levy, *two* attended and *one* called. (Our Italics) (9/22/70)
>
> Representative Brophy said there was no way the State Legislature could help the Board at this time and he felt sorry for the Board and the problem they have. (9/22/70)

In special session, on October 6th, the Board received the unofficial returns of the failed levy, 6,856 versus 4,436. They voted to resubmit the same rates on October 21st. The meeting lasted 20 minutes--9:00 to 9:20 P.M.

At the regular meeting of October 13th, the Board received the official returns, 6,881 versus 4,437. Routine business was handled. Finally, as per earlier directives:

> The Administration presented plans to the Board for "caretaker" procedures for closing schools on October 23 if the levy fails to pass October 21. Buildings will be closed to everyone except those involved in maintaining building security or the maintenance of buildings and a security force of administrators and custodians will maintain a twenty-four hour security on the buikldings as required by insurance provisions and those authorized by the Superintendent. A small secretarial staff will be retained in the Central Office to assist in the conduct of any District business during the period schools remained closed. (10/13/70)

A week later (October 21), in special session the unofficial returns indicated the levy failed again, 8,242 versus 4,954. From the Board's perspective, this change in votes was an incredible 1,361 additional yes' and only 17 no's. The Board voted to resubmit on November 7th. Beyond some items of regular business, several items appear which indicate the complications arising around the failing levies. Once again Pete Tucker, the President of the High School Student Council, appeared before the Board:

> ...said the students wanted to recommend to the Board that football, cross country, and debate be allowed to continue even though schools were closed. Pete said since football was a self supporting event, it would not cost the District anything and would help the vorale of students. The recommendations were signed by officers of the Student Council and the officers of the Sophomore, Junior and Senior classes.
>
> A lengthy discussion ensued between the Board and audience in regard to continuation of these events with schools closed. (10/21/70)

The President of the Board thanked the group, indicated the Board wanted to think about the issues, and they would make a decision at a later meeting.

Other issues seemed to complicate the community's support of the levy. Mrs. O'Malley, a resident in the Edinburg Estates area, raised a complaint about teachers parking on the street in front of the school. When parents picked up their youngsters, the residents can't get out of their driveways. "She felt that the Board should do something to relieve the congestion on the street." The further twists and turns in human affairs appear in a letter to the President of the Board, dated a week later. It is included, in toto, as Figure 26.

Insert Figure 26 About Here

October 30, 1970

Dear Mr. Reeves:

I realize that you are a very busy man at this time due to the tax levy and hope you won't be too disturbed by my writing. I don't want to be overbearing but since I am not familiar with the procedures followed by the Milford School District, I can see where I did waste a lot to time and energy trying to get the traffic problem solved through the Principal of the Edinburg School.

Are you aware there is a side door with a sidewalk leading onto the parking area, there is also an exit from the gym which also leads to this area. I did ask Mr. Jordin (the Principal) why the children couldn't use these exits when the weather was bad and on very cold days. These are the days when we have the biggest problem.

I don't know when Dr. George was last at Edinburg School but I certainly am not asking any teacher to park in the mud as he stated at the Board meeting. There are fifteen parking spaces marked off on the black top at the edge of the ball diamond. If the teachers did use these spaces that would help to solve the problem a great deal. I do believe there might of been some parents in the audience the first time I presented this problem as several did go around to the parking lot when the weather was bad Wednesday of this week. Even though some did cooperate the traffic was still backed up to Ethan Drive.

Our children's education is as important to us as any other parent in the Milford District. Since it is necessary for them to work in order to attend the school of their choice, we hope you will look at this traffic situation in the same light as we do. If they should be forced to quit their job due to being late we feel this would be a great injustice to them, and possibly force them to attend public school due to lack of tuition. I know you are aware of what this would cost the Milford School District. We do have four children attending Archidocesen (sic) Schools.

If any other emergency should arise it would be virtually impossible to get an ambulance, police, or fire department down this street.

We feel with the cooperation of the parents, Mr. Jordin, and the School Board, this problem could be solved without a great deal of trouble.

Your consideration and cooperation on this matter will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,
Mrs. O'Malley

Figure 26: Letter from Citizen

Immediately after Mrs. O'Malley's concern over congestion at the Edinburg School, another resident from the same neighborhood raised a different substantive point but one similar in frustration and anger:

> Mr. Charlie Jones and a group of neighbors who are residents near Edinburg School, talked to the Superintendent and Mrs. Lancaster, President of the Edinburg Improvement Association in regard to the Edinburg Teen Town dance held at the Edinburg School on October 16. Mr. Jones said there were fights on the school grounds, beer cans thrown in the yards, and a general disturbance caused by the children. Mr. Jones said he would obtain police reports on the incidents and present them to the Board. He said he felt the Board should deny the group the use of the school.
>
> Mrs. Marilyn Lancaster, President of the E.I.A., said that since she had been President, this was the first report of any trouble she had received. Mrs. Lancaster said she had called the Suburban Police and was told they had no report of any incidents. She said they were responsible for the dances and the school property and were not responsible for the children after they left the dance. She said they had hired a policeman to be at the dance and the Suburban Police said they would patrol the area when the dance was over.
>
> President Reeves told Mr. Jones that when he had received the police reports to bring them to the Board and they would look into the matter. (10/21/70)

Later they returned to the Board for more discussion (October 27).

We are not sure of the significance of these items, but they seem to point to the diverse interests of the citizenry, conflicts, and frustrations which arise "in the normal course of events" some of which are long standing (expense of parochial education), some of which are short term ("beer cans in my yard after a party"), and some more medium term--continuing traffic congestion. The Administration and Board seem to keep trying to adjudicate it's way through this forest of windfalls. Sometimes creatively, sometimes with a short fuse, sometimes with delaying tactics, and most frequently, with direct common sense action.

A day later, October 22, the Board met again in special session. One item was on the agenda:

> President Reeves said the meeting was called to inform the District that we will receive an advance payment from the December State Foundation payment. President Reeves said he would let Representative Noonan explain the situation.
>
> Representative Noonan said when he knew the levy had failed October 21, he came to the Superintendent and said maybe something could be done to keep the schools open. Representative Noonan called Governor Gulick and asked if there was anything that could be done about getting the December payment early in order to keep the schools open. Governor Gulick issued an Executive Order approved by the State Board of Education granting the Milford School District an advance payment of approximately $300,000 from its December Foundation payment.
>
> President Reeves said this payment would provide funds for approximately one month of school. However, President Reeves hoped it was clearly understood that this $300,000 was an advance of the December payment and not additional money.
>
> A lengthly discussion ensued with the audience, Board, and Representative Noonan in regard to the advance payment and the pros and cons of the effect this might have on the passage of the levy on November 7. Representative Noonan pledge that he and his workers would help in any way they could to help pass the levy. (10/22/70)

On November 7th, in special session, a two-year levy of $5.13 for two years was resubmitted for November 23rd. $3.17 would be the figure on the ballot.

At the regular meeting on November 10th, the Superintendent presented some of the alternative if the levy doesn't pass and "reverts back to the $4.46 rate." They included:

> 1) ...close the schools on November 20 due to financial conditions of the District until such time as an operating levy is approved.

2) ...close schools and make reductions in staff, both certificated and non certificated, which would also result in cuts in the educational program, and resume school in January.
3) ...operate schools until end of year depleting all balances.
4) ...reduce salaries with those having contracts having to agree to such modification.

The Board wanted to study the alternatives. A decision would be made later.

At the special session on November 15, the Board again discussed alternatives. The issues of the prior week were probed a step further:

> ...increase in size of classes; charge for Driver Training in second semester; and elimination of some elective courses. (11/15/70)

The CTA formally entered the discussion with a resolution. The initial paragraphs commended the Board for its efforts. The key substantive recommendations to the contingency of an inability to pass the levy the CTA:

> ...recommends that we operate schools as usual until all funds are expended. (11/15/70)

In effect, no cuts in salaries, nor programs, nor personnel. The Board called a meeting for the next night--"after the Governor's speech."

On the 16th of November:

> Mr. Tuley moved that in the event the $5.13 levy fails on November 23, 1970, and no unforseen money is received from the State Department, the schools will close at the end of the day on November 25 because of lack of funds to meet the December payroll and to provide time to reschedule classes and determine cuts in the educational programs that are to be made. (11/16/70)

Mr. Karl seconded the motion. The roll call vote was unanimous in favor of the motion.

The levy failed on November 23rd. The Board, in special session, implemented its decision to recess. The Milford Schools closed their doors. Principals and Central Office staff reported later on their standing shifts in round the clock wating of the buildings. For some, Thanksgiving dinner that year was a plate of turkey and dressing brought by a spouse to a closed building.

At the Board meeting, the Superintendent reported on cuts in services and assessment in fees that would save $200,000. The next evening, in regular session, the Board met until 12:12 A.M. A lengthy discussion was held with citizens attending the meeting. Clarification occurred on several issues. Any borrowed money, according to State Law, has to be repaid in the same calendar year, therefore, at this late date, no money could be borrowed before January. When school reopened, the required 174 days of schooling would have to be met. The Superintendent presented an itemized list of reductions and money to be saved. We include that as Figure 27.

Insert Figure 27 About Here

This reduction would amount to a $.22 reduction in the levy. Consequently, the Board reduced the total levy to $4.91. The teachers' levy would be increased $.45 to $2.95. That is a drop of $.09 from the previous ballot. The other $.13 would come from the incident fund.

Textbooks (no further purchases this year)	$ 40,000
Replacement of Equipment	18,000
Upkeep of Equipment	5,000
Inservice (teacher workshops, etc.)	2,000
Travel (employee mileage)	3,500
Elimination of district testing program and instructional supplies	20,000
Withdrawal from Suburban County Cooperative Services (A-V, music festivals, etc.)	15,000
Not replace five maintenance workers who have resigned	20,000
Not replace six teachers who have resigned	25,000
Elimination of 21 Teacher Aides	26,000
Elimination of almost all overtime pay	11,000
Income from second semester fees	14,000
Total	$200,000

Figure 27: Proposed Reductions

The CTA, with their attorney said the teachers:

> ...would be willing to sign a modified contract to wave one week's salary if the Board would not issue leaves of absence to the teachers. (11/24/70)

The Board's attorney felt they were compelled to issue the leaves. The CTA indicated they would seek a restraining order. The Board moved unanimously to put all teachers on leave effective November 30th.

The "Restraining Order and Injunction Suit" was filed by six teachers. The Board authorized its attorney to take the necessary counter steps.

On December 9th, on the sixth (6th) try, the levy finally passed, 8,814 to 4,117. The 68.3% was sufficient. Amidst the round of thanks to the citizens committee, leaders and members, and the student body and its leaders, several additional comments arose which bear on the realities of school politics:

> President Reeves said the Board pledges their efforts to see if something can be done on the State level to secure more aid and to give relief to the elderly. (12/9/70)

The Board met until 1:45 A.M., mostly working out agreements with the CTA regarding teacher salaries. The issues concerned teachers signing a waiver on half the December salary, which would be paid when the Board received its tax funds, probably in late January. The teachers wanted full payment, in December or January the 4th at the latest. The Board refused to borrow the money. They finally agreed to half payment on December 18th and:

> the second salary payment would be made on or before January 20, or as soon as the money is available.

The Board then announced that school would reopen on Monday, December 14th. On January the 12th, the Board cleaned up several key items from the reduced levy and the closed schools. A schedule of fees for extra curricular activities and supplies was set. The CTA President reported that the large majority of teachers:

> ...preferred working straight through without getting holidays in order to get out a week earlier in June due to the hot weather. (1/12/71)

The Board, apparently in anticipation of these suggestions and/or being in agreement, adopted such a calendar.

As a summary, Figure 28 presents a chronology of the Autumn Board meetings regarding the tax levy. Some nineteen formal meetings occurred in less than six months. Six votes occurred before the reduced levy passed.

Insert Figure 28 About Here

The fallout from the budget tightening and the battles over the tax levies, or, as the sociologists phrase it, the unintended dysfunctional consequences of purposive social action, occurred shortly. In February, discussions began on the placement of students in junior high mathematics classes, a situation involving eight elementary schools and 24 teachers:

AUTUMN, 1970

August 11	Levy at $3.47	
September 8	Levy failed 6,145 versus 6,370 Board meeting set levy $3.45 and September 22 vote	(1)
September 17	Special Board meeting; reset levy at $3.17 and date October 6 vote	
September 22	Regular Board meeting	
October 6	Levy failed 6,856 versus 4,436 Special Board meeting	(2)
October 13	Regular meeting	
October 21	Levy failed 8,242 versus 4,454 Special Board meeting	(3)
October 22	Special Board meeting	
October 27	Regular Board Meeting	
November 7	Special meeting Levy failed 8,224 versus 4,806	(4)
November 10	Regular session	
November 15	Special session — on alternatives	
November 18	Special session -- decision to close on 25th if levy failed	
November 23	Special session Levy failed 7,800 versus 4,767 Schools to be closed November 25	(5)
November 24	Regular session	
December 5	Special session -- on restraining order	
December 9	Regular session Levy passed 8,859 versus 4,117	(6)
December 12	Special session — discussion of teacher payments	
January 12	Regular session — cleaning up odds and ends and calendar	

Figure 28: Chronology of Board Meetings

> Previously, the ranking on the Stanford Achievement Text was used in placing the students but since this testing was not done this year due to the financial situation of the District, another method had to be found. (2/9/71)

This other method turned out to be teacher evaluations and the use of fifth grade test scores. Placements would be provisional and the youngsters moved if misplaced.

Motions were passed on increasing fees for bus passes and rates for those ineligible for free transportation.

In March, the Board unanimously approved the 1971-72 levy, the same as 1970-71:

Teachers' Levy	2.95
Incidental	1.05
Building	.20
Debt Service	.71
Total	$4.91

They also:

> ...moved that priorities for the 1971-72 school year be listed in the following order:
>
> 1. Reinstate program eliminated through budget cuts in 1970-71.
> 2. Increase special personnel on elementary level that relate to State requirements.
> 3. Increase base salary for certificated staff and increase salary for non certificated staff.

The motion carried unanimously.

While one might be hesitant to call it "fall out" from the controversy over the tax levies, the Board continued its annual pattern and extended a new three year contract to Dr. George, the Superintendent of

Schools. A month later the annual school elections occurred. In a field of fifteen candidates, largest ever, the two incumbents were re-elected by substantial pluralities: 3,578 for Mr. Reeves and 2,255 for Mr. Wells. The next closest three candidates received 1,647, 1,085, and 1,039 votes. The remainder ranged between 238 and 883. In the election of Board officers, no changes were made. So, it seems, the Board is pleased with the Superintendent, the community is pleased with the Board, and the Board is pleased with itself. And chaos had reigned all Fall and the schools had been closed for two weeks. At a minimum, it's mind boggling.

Part Two: The Dress Code Rebellion and the Long Aftermath

Not only was 1970-71 the year "the schools were closed", it was the year in which "the dress code went on trial." The Board had barely gotten through its financial crisis and six tax elections, when the first glimmers of the dress code crisis appeared in early February. As the poet says, "it was blowing in the wind," although it seemed more innocuous than that in the minutes:

> Mrs. Shirley Denner asked to speak to the Board and was recognized by Mr. Reeves.
>
> Mrs. Denner said she had heard the District was going to drop the dress code and that most of the parents were in favor of a dress code. Mrs. Denner said the main objections were to the 20 degree or below temperatures in regard to girls wearing slacks to school. She said she felt that this could be the decision of the parents as to whether it was cold enough for slacks. Also, she said that some of the schools would allow slacks and some didn't and she felt there should be some uniformity among the schools.
>
> President Reeves said the Board was aware of the latter situation and was taking steps to correct this situation. He said

> the Board was not dropping the dress code and felt that this rumor was the result of wishful talking on the part of some of the students.
>
> President Reeves thanked Mrs. Denner for her comments. (2/9/71)

At the next regular meeting, February 23, 1971, two high school students, Sam Justin, the Chairman of the Dress Code Committee, and Pete Tucker, the President of the Student Council, presented the Board the results of their deliberations:

> The booklet contained an introductory letter from Pete Tucker, President of the Student Council, series of articles from newspapers, dress codes from other districts, a summary of the survey sent by the Inter-Action Committee to parents, faculty, and students, justification for the change in the dress code, and a Code of Decency presented by the Committee.
>
> Pete Tucker, President of the Student Council, said the Dress Code Committee did not expect the Board to make a decision tonight but wanted them to study the proposal carefully and with an open mind. He said the committee had worked since October and had put a lot of time and work into the proposal. Pete said since the Board members did not have contact with the school, they might be inclined to underestimate the morale factor the dress code has on the students. He said the student body wants a change in dress code.
>
> President Reeves thanked Pete for his presentation and told him the Board would carefully go through the booklet and would meet with them soon. (2/23/71)

Dress codes and Codes of Decency reach much farther than their labels imply. Broader issues of values and desirable personal and social behavior arise. The range of toleration of individual differences, the standards that the community wants to hold, and the schools' role in addressing the problems created continuing major agenda items. "Discipline problems" had been a part of the Board's agenda since the first year records were kept. Now, in March of 1971, a faculty committee "participating in the drug abuse programs" met with the Board. The committee reported on the rising suburban problem and, "young people are very knowledgeable about drugs, but are very ignorant of the consequences of using drugs--health wise and legally." The committee had prepared a booklet on drug abuse and the Junior High Mothers' Circle had sponsored and helped in mailing it to 925 parents. The group argued for "a well planned educational program" rather than a "crash program."

At the same meeting the Board "discussed at great length" with Mr. Bakan, the High School Principal, the student proposals for codes of dress and decency. The consensus of the Board was not to adopt the student statement. The students and Mr. Bakan, the High School Principal, should work together:

> ...on any modification of the Code they wished to present and the Board would be willing to listen to any proposition from the students through Mr. Bakan.

On March 23, 1971, the Principal presented "a modified dress code prepared by the Student Council of the Senior High School. The Board's consensus was to study the proposal and give a decision at a later meeting.

A month later, April 27, in regular session, three patrons commented mostly favorably regarding dropping the dress code. Their contacts in neighboring districts suggested that the relationships between faculty members and students had improved, that students were dressing better and that there had been no problems. Hints of the growing problems at the high school appeared in the next items:

> Mr. McPherson (a patron and unsuccessful candidate for the Board in the election two weeks before) said he had been told Dr. George had issued orders to the teachers of the first three periods that if students were not reported for dress code violations, their contracts might not be issued to them. Dr. George said the directive was to the administration that the dress code should be enforced and it was not given to just the first three periods when we found that the teachers were not giving cooperation to the administration. However, Dr. George said it was never said that such a directive would preclude their being given a contract.

The play of power in small groups can be both intriguing and fascinating. The Board minutes continued this way:

> President Reeves said the Board has had time to go over the present dress code, the proposed dress code presented by the Student Council, and has met with the Student Council for discussion. President Reeves asked if there were any members of the Board who wanted to make a motion to accept the dress code as presented by the Student Council. Hearing none, President Reeves asked the Superintendent to make a recommendation on the dress code.
>
> Dr. George presented a dress code revision based on the present code and the one presented by the Student Council showing what changes were made.
>
> Mr. Adams moved that the Board adopt the dress code as presented by the Superintendent, effective September 1, 1971, with students being allowed to wear shorts on a trial basis starting May 15, 1971,[21] until the end of school and a copy of the dress code to be attached to the official minutes.
> (4/27/71)

No copy was so attached.

Three days later, Friday, April 30th, at 9:45 P.M., the Board met in special session:

---

[21] Amended a few minutes later to May 1st.

> The meeting was held at the request of the Board members for the purpose of reviewing the events that took place in the last few days at the Senior High School in regard to the dress code and what disciplinary actions would be taken. (4/30/71)

The chronology of events runs four single-spaced, typed pages. We abstract and paraphrase items which extend our understanding of the events already reported:

1) The February 23rd presentation was made "against the advice of the Principal." It was "not really a code of dress but a code of decency."
2) On April 19th the Board and students "...spent some three hours exchanging viewpoints on the dress code."
3) At the time of the meeting (April 19), the students were told that the Board would act on the dress code at the April 27 meeting. Even though it was suggested to the leaders that no change would be put into effect immediately, there seems to be some confusion on the part of the student body that these changes would go into effect immediately.
4) The Board suggested that "a large crowd of students" was not necessary at the Board meeting of April 27 as there had been at the February 23 Board meeting. Some "200 or 300 students" arrived on April 27.
5) After the comparison of the current code, the code proposed by the students and the administration's code "which was a combination of the two," the Board accepted the latter. "Students in attendance at the meeting then spent some time in the hallway haranguing the student leaders in regard to not getting everything they wanted.

6) On the morning of April 28, "a large number of students, possibly 1,000," gathered in the lounge area, sat on the floor chanting and refused to listen to pleas by student leaders and the administration to attend classes.

7) The students called radio, TV and police. The Principal called the Superintendent and persuaded the police to stay off the scene until he called. At about 10:00 A.M. when the TV had left, the Principal announced over the P.A. system that any student in class by 10:38 would only be considered truant. After 10:38 they would be considered trespassing and the police would be called to remove them.

8) Ultimately, police from three different local departments were called and the crowd finally dispersed. Three Central Office administrators and the three High School administrators met with the police chief and decided to charge seven students, six boys and one girl, with trespassing. The complaints were filed at 5:00 P.M.

9) Later that evening the Superintendent, the Mayor of Milford, and five police officers met "to discuss the high school situation."

10) At 11:00 P.M. and 3:00 A.M. attempts were made to get in the bus lot; they failed because the lot was guarded.

11) On April 29, two students received a park permit for a meeting. Only 75 students attended.

12) "April 30--rumors of visits from students, now dropouts, to throw rocks and provoke an incident--did not materialize. Rumors of student walkouts at New Junior High did not materialize."

13) Newspaper and TV accounts appeared in the Metropolitan coverage.

In response to these events, the Board wrote letters to the pre-10:38 A.M. students regarding truancy. They wrote letters of suspension, three to ten days, to the post 10:38 A.M. students. As part of the normal suspension procedures, parents were required to come for a conference before the students would be readmitted. Summary suspension (for the remainder of the semester) letters went to two students, one of whom was on probation at the time of the incident and the other who was already on suspension and was not supposed to be back in the building until he had had a parent conference.

At the regular May 11th meeting, the Board heard from a patron on the dress code, a letter from a Legal Aid Society lawyer representing a student who was under the jurisdiction of the Juvenile Court, and an attorney from the ACLU representing the students who had been suspended for the remainder of the semester.

On May 20th, the Board met in special session for a hearing of the suspended senior high students. Attorneys for the students and the Board were present, as well as the Superintendent and the Assistant Superintendent. After the formal appeals, witnesses were called from the administration and on behalf of each student, direct and cross examination occurred:

> After due deliberation and after completion of all hearings scheduled for the agenda, the Board adopted the following Findings of Fact, Conclusions of Law, and Order...

In a unanimous vote, the Board reaffirmed the summary suspension for the remainder of the semester with each of the two students. The further action to expell the one student was based on a series of events related to the leadership of the protest including such events as a broken window, climbing to the roof of the cafeteria as a vantage point to lead the continued demonstration and disruption of classes. The Board voted unanimously through most of the steps of the proceeding, although the final vote was 4-2 for expulsion. The meeting adjourned at 3:30 A.M.

The dress code problems continued on into 1971-71, as other metropolitan districts had various problems, and, in one instance, a student had won a decision regarding hair length. According to the school attorney:

> ...in the recent cases where a decision had been handed down, there might have been different opinions from different judges and until the Supreme Court hands down a decision, it is not settled. He said we are not just talking about hair but about clothes, dress, etc., and whether the Board has a right to set rules. (11/23/71)

Later discussions raised the possibility of compromise on the part of the student "as he had in the past on other occasions." The student's lawyer said, "...his client was not willing to compromise in any way." Discussion and decision on reinstatement would follow at a later time.

Between times, the Board was responding to other changes in community mores and behavior. In December a new set of policies and procedents on drug abuse were formulated. The basic rule:

> The possession, use, or transfer of illegal drugs, including alcohol, on school premises is not permitted. Anyone found in violation of this regulation will be subject to suspension and/or expulsion from school in the manner provided by law. (12/14/71)

Administratively, procedures were developed regarding 1) pupils suspected of using drugs, 2) pupils who appear to be under the influence of drugs (emergency), and 3) reporting to law enforcement authorities. Confidentiality was the central concern of the first item, immediate help regarding health in the second, and legal context of the third. The materials presented to and adopted by the Board carried the initials of the Assistant Superintendent, Jim Luther.

The following week the Board held a three hour meeting with Terry Flanders, his Mother, his attorney, the Board's attorney, the High School Principal and Assistant Principal, and seven members of the Central Administration. The issue was a hearing on an appeal of the student's suspension. The report of the hearing was 12 pages long. The drama of a mother who didn't like long hair, who had given up fighting it after several years, and who was concerned for her son and his education, a seventeen year old who thought that long hair had nothing to do with education and who thought his rights were being violated, and who now was finished with compromising, and a School Board and Administration who were trying to find, define, and uphold community standards regarding the context of education was poignant, saddening, and tragic. After the lengthy discussion, the Board voted to deny the appeal and affirm the suspension.

Later, in a very short minute, with no related discussion, the Board moved to:

> ...authorize Mr. Pierce, the school attorney, to file an appeal to the decision of the court in the case of Terry Flanders et. al. versus Milford School District. (5/23/72)

Apparently the District had lost the first round. Discussions with Central Office staff (October, 1981) indicate that the Board had indeed lost the decision. The attorney advised them that, in their circuit court district, the probabilities of winning were minimal, consequently the suit and the dress code was dropped. The issue did not reappear in the minutes that year.

In Milford, School Boards are like parent groups and individual students; they don't quit. In October of 1972, the Board voted unanimously:

> ...that the dress code for the Senior High School be revised to eliminate the listing of September and May for wearing of shorts and the listing of cold months for the wearing of slacks and the sideburns be allowed to extend to the jawline...(A copy of the dress code is included in the Official Minutes). (10/10/72)

On this occasion a copy actually was included. It is presented as Figure 29.

Insert Figure 29 About Here

Ending the Year of Trauma

A variety of summary statements about innovation and change in American Education might be made at the close of the 1970-71 school year. The financial guillotine hanging over the Board's head or the knife at one's throat reached its dramatic conclusion in the Autumn when five tax levies failed and the schools were closed from Thanksgiving to mid-December. Among other groups, the CTA actively participated in the discussions, the closed doors, and the aftermath of financial resolutions.

Hardly had that trauma been coped with and the Board ran headlong into a major confrontation with students at the Senior High School. The proposed revision of the dress code was moving too rapidly for the Board and not rapidly enough for the students. On April 28th, some of the students stayed out of class, took to the roofs and disrupted the educational program.

Into these more dramatic events of stability and change in the District, appeared a very small item of a third force for change in the District. The minutes reported it this way:

> Since the District has an unsatisfactory rating in the area of pupil services on the elementary level, it was the consensus of the Board that the Administration start working to define the needs of the District, develop job descriptions, employ appropriate personnel, organize, communicate, implement, and work with the State Department of Education in formulating a program for the District. (6/22/71)

MILFORD SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL

DRESS CODE

The students of Milford Senior High School are expected to dress in the interest of good taste and personal pride. This means to dress neatly, cleanly, and decently. "The purpose of our school is education, and anything detracting from this basic purpose is not permitted."

Shoes must be worn at all times. All boys should be clean shaven. Sideburns may be grown parallel to the ear and extend to the jawline.

Shorts and slacks are accepted dress. (Jeans are not slacks; therefore, in the interest of good taste, students are encouraged not to wear jeans in place of shorts or slacks.) Apparel with lettering and/or insignia other than Milford is prohibited. Shirtails that are not commercially designed to be worn outside should be tucked in.

This dress code does not apply at after school or extra curricular activities.

Homecoming and proms require special dress. The following are a few suggestions on proper attire: Homecoming--suit or sportcoats for boys, suits or dresses (not too fancy) and low heels for girls. Sweetheart Prom--formal attire. Junior-Senior Prom--semi-formal attire.

Since all students are expected to dress neatly and in the normal expectations of good taste, departure from these standards will be considered a dress code violation. We do not wish to impose too many restrictions. Instead, we ask that students use good judgement. Cleanliness, neatness, and modesty are important rules to follow. If in doubt--dress better.

Approved by the Board of Education
School District of Milford
October 10, 1972

Figure 29: Milford Dress Code

The citizens of Midwest State, through the Legislature and the Department of Education, have established and progressively have updated certain minimum standards of "good education." Annual inspections, reports, and evaluations contrast reality with standards and bring about decisions such as this to move toward congruence. As is obvious from earlier stories, sometime the congruence is attempted by changing legislation and administrative regulations. In this instance, the Board moved toward "improving the elementary program." The State also had its say.

7.3 Old Themes Intertwine: The Narrative of Milford Continues

After the turmoil of 1970-71, the intentional closing of schools for lack of funds in Autumn and the half day partial closing of the High School because of the student dress code protest, the 1971-72 year began quietly and slowly. Normal business occurred: Blacktopping of driveways, grading high school property for tennis courts, new Language Laboratory Equipment from a local firm which promised service was purchased. A thank you letter arrived from a teacher who had had a profitable sabbatical the year before. Discussions occurred with the President of the CTA as Board Policies were revised involving the professional staff--sick leave, retirement age, etc. Policy 4135--Organizations was rescinded, without disagreement from the CTA President. "I don't feel the teachers would object if the Board rescinded the policy." Although the Board itself split 4-2 (Nays: Reeves and Tuley) on the issue. Discussions continued over the fees for Drivers' Training which had been assessed the previous year because of the difficult financial times.

A patron who, as an adolescent, had had only six months of high school wrote a letter of thinks indicating she had passed the high school equivalency exam after three months in the District Adult Basic Education Program. She was pleased with the program, the five teachers and the Director, Mr. Newton. The Board also received a letter from the Edinburg Elementry School PTA requesting the Board hold one of its regular meetins at the school for the increased awareness of the Edinburg parents.

But the CTA Board discussions were not as amicable as a first reading of the minutes might imply. The CTA had obtained a censuring letter from the Metropolitan Teachers' Association. Without the Whereas's, the four items were that the Board had:

1) acted in an arbitrary and unilateral manner affecting working conditions stated in teacher contracts
2) had not kept good faith with teachers in distributing increased state funds
3) had deprived the professional staff of a contractual benefit in its change of sick leave policy
4) acted in an arbitrary, capricious, and unilateral manner as related to the stated and implied term of teacher contracts

So, issues remained in contention. On October 29, 1971, the Board met with its attorney, Mr. Irby, to discuss "the various lawsuits." The three cases pending involved a possible realignment of school districts due to racial discrimination, a civil rights complaint, and "the lawsuit filed by six teachers in regard to revision of School Board Policies."

At the regular November 9, 1971, meeting the Board recessed for an hour "for the Board's Negotiating Team to meet with the CTA Negotiating Team." Later in the meeting:

> Upon the recommendation of the Superintendent, Mr. Tuley moved that the entire Board go on record as approving an offer of $7,100 starting salary for the teachers, effective November 15, 1971, subject to the acceptance by the teachers and within any guidelines set down by the federal government.

It carried unanimously. A later motion sought information from the Pay Board regarding making the raise retroactive to September 1, 1971. Later, the CTA accepted "unanimously" the $7,100 base salary.

Several old themes, tax equalizations and Black Education returned to the District in January of 1972. Correspondence was passing between Mr. Reeves, Milford's Board President, and the Metropolitan League of School District's Legal and Research Committee on various ideas for equalizing support of schools. Mr. Reeves had suggested "equalization through the distribution of industrial and commercial taxes."

Mr. Perry, President of the CTA, announced to the Board the CTA's proclamation of January 10-15 as Human Relations Week and in accord with that:

> ...he would like to present to the Board three sets of phonograph records, "Adventures in Negro History", "The Afro-American Quest for Education", and "The Frederich Douglass Years". Mr. Perry said it was their desire that the Board accept these records and place them in the secondary schools for use by the students. (1/11/72)

The Board President thanked him and later gave them to the Assistant Superintendent for him "to make an evaluation of them."

In February, Mr. Perry, President of the CTA, appeared as a candidate for the School Board, along with the two incumbents, Tuley and Adams. Later he withdrew because Midwest State laws prohibit a teacher from taking part in the "management of a campaign for the election or defeat of members of a board of education by which he is employed."

In March, 1972, the Board's attorney, Mr. Irby, died; he was replaced by a colleague, Mr. Pierce, from the same firm.

As had occurred for many years, the Board continued the District's secondary Summer program, an elementary Summer program, a Summer music program, and a Title I program. New programs arose as new technologies were abroad in the larger community. Courses in Business Data Processing required purchases of key punchers, verifiers, sorters, and tabulators.

Unlike the previous year when ten candidates ran for the Board of Education, in April, 1972, only the two incumbents ran. In both years, the incumbents were re-elected.

In May of 1972, the CTA Salary Committee tried to change the format of discussions by having an outsider join the discussions. The Board reaffirmed its position from the prior September:

> ...that they would not meet with an outsider but were willing to meet with the teacher employees of the District at any time. (5/9/72)

Each side remained adament. A standoff existed. No meeting was held. On the 23rd, the CTA Salary Committee Chairman, Mr. Bannon, asked if the Board's Salary Committee would meet with them. Because of no prior notice, the Board agreed to meet after its regular meeting.

In the regular meeting of May 23rd, the Board instructed the administration to publicize a Board vacancy. The announcement produced two initial candidates--one a high school student and one a District patron. The patron's letter came on stationary with a Metropolitan Bank letterhead and indicated that the applicant was a vice president. He had a daughter in high school and a daughter in one of the elementary schools. His community activities required a short paragraph. The second letter was handwritten on lined school notebook paper. Because the letter plays in and out of several themes we reproduce it in its entirety as Figure 30.

Insert Figure 30 About Here

At the next meeting, five more letters of application arrived. The Board unanimously moved in favor of Mr. Galper, one of the additional five.

Now with increasing regularity each year, the Board and the CTA, through its "salary discussion teams", met with offers and counter offers regarding the base salary and index. In July of 1972, the Board's offer was $7,600.00. Later in the Fall (September, 1972) the Board met with the CTA Committee and were joined by a District representative:

> Mrs. Diekhoff said she appreciated being here and thanked Dr. George for inviting her. She said she would be working with the teachers in an advisory capacity and she did not come as an adversary of the Board and was looking forward to working with them. Mr. Diekhoff thanked the Board for allowing her to come to the meeting. (9/12/72)

May 31, 1972

Dear Superintendent George:

I am a student at Milford High School and I recently saw your piece in the paper stating that you are accepting applications for a place on the Board.

I realize I don't meet any of the requirements set but this is not an application. I only wish to state that the requirements should be dropped and the Board accept someone who will represent the students' ideas and points of views and that they are actually a student at Milford who has first hand knowledge of what is happening at the Junior and Senior Highs. Preferably someone elected by the students for the position.

I also wish to state a grievance. It is that you rejected the petition, signed by a majority of the students stating that the dress code should be rejected, saying "the petition is not specific enough." I think Sir, this is a lot of bull. You are trying to push your and yours ideas about decency on the students. If wearing a short dress and holding hands are indecent I'd like to know what you think of killing all those people in Viet Nam.

I really don't expect this letter to carry much weight but, Dr. George, I really would like you to think about what I've said. Thank you for your time.

Sincerely,

Paul Lesley

Figure 30: Letter from High School Student

A substantive issue arose in the concern of the CTA President, Mr. Tighe, that the Board had eleminated the CTA by name from its personnel policies and substituted "members of the District certificated staff." The CTA felt it was a loss of recognition to the people who "...had worked hard to build an organization they were proud of."

Similarly, the District's continued involvement in federally sponsored lunch programs continued. Multiple rules and regulations have accompanied these. In August of 1972, and not unlike earlier years, the Superintendent's agenda stated:

> X School Food Service Program--Free and Reduced Price Meals
>
> Schools participating in the child feeding program are required to adopt and have on file with the State Agency policy statements on standards and procedures for determining eligibility for free or reduced price meals. The USDA has issued regulations specifying what must be included in the locally adopted policies. Federal regulations also require each state to adopt the family income scale announced by the Secretary of Agriculture. (8/22/72)

The pervasiveness of these regulations is reflected in the recommendations by the Superintendent and the minute on the Board's motion:

> Mr. Tuley moved that the Board adopt the policy statement of hearing procedures, eligibility criteria, letter to parents, application form, news media release, notice of acceptance or denial form, and plan #1 for method of collection as suggested by the State Department of Education as attached to the agenda. Mr. Wells seconded the motion and it carried unanimously. (8/22/72)

The attached forms consisted of nine pages of two columns of policy statements.

Transportation policies exist in the abstract and in general rules and regulations. They also appear in particular form as Board agenda items in the "Patrons Participation Time" at the regular meetings. On Tuesday, September 12th, 1972, this item occurred:

> Mrs. Randolph said she had talked with the Transportation Department and with Dr. George and asked to speak to the Board in regard to bus transportation for her son. She said she had been informed they did not qualify for free transportation and according to speedometers on three different cars, it was over a mile. Dr. George said that car speedometers were not accurate and that Mrs. Randolph probably got three different distances with the three automobiles. He said the Transportation Department walks with a wheel which measures the distance and the measurement was 260 feet short of a mile. Even though it had been measured twice, Mrs. Randolph asked that it be measured again and she be notified the day before so she could walk it with Mr. Ives, Transportation Supervisor.
>
> It was the consensus of the Board that the distance be walked and measured again and Mrs. Randolph be notified the day before. (9/12/72)

Two weeks later she was back, but she was still not satisfied:

> President Reeves asked Mrs. Randolph if the distance had been walked and measured again as she requested and if she had walked with them? Mrs. Randolph said yes, but it was walked too fast and measurement was not accurate. Dr. George explained to Mrs. Randolph that it made no difference how fast or slow it was walked as long as the wheel touched the ground. (9/26/72)

Mrs. Randolph countered with "the corners were not squared" and it was not measured to the entrance to the school." The Board President rejoined that it was still 230 feet short "and her son was not entitled to free bus transportation."

That September, the Board met, as usual, with the High School Yearbook, faculty sponsor, and student editors and received a copy of the yearbook. In addition, and almost as regularly, the Board met and welcomed the year's foreign exchange student, a girl from France.

The District's involvement with university educational institutions had been sporadic over the years. Various surveys, reports, and research projects had come and gone. Student teaching arrangements had been made with several Universities over the years. In September, 1972, the Board received the Chairman of City University's Department of Educational Administration who presented awards to Dr. George and Dr. Luther. They had served as Coordinators of two administrative interms, Mr. Muldoon and Mr. Wales who were doing advanced graduate work at City University.

On September 26, the Board established the salary base at $7,500:

> ...with permission extended to the Administration to revise it to $7600 if there is any change in the Wage Price Regulations that would so permit. (9/26/72)

This recommendation was based on an IRS maximum allowable salary increase of 5.5%. Presidential guidelines were being honored.

On October 10th, in special session, the Board met for an hour with the CTA over the deletion of the CTA name from the policies. The CTA was angry that the Board hadn't talked with them beforehand. The President indicated the decisions were made at a regular meeting; the Superintendent apologized for not informing the CTA of the agenda.

In the regular sessions on the 10th of October, the Board moved the meeting to an Industrial Arts room at the Senior High School. Mr.

Goodall, Chairman of the Industrial Arts Department and teacher of woodworking, welcomed the Board. The summary of his comments continue our theme on the evolution of curriculum in the District:

> He said when he came to the Milford School District twenty-five years ago, the only piece of equipment in the woodworking department was a hand plane and the department had come a long way since then. He said the boys are taught safety, good conduct, cleanliness, and care of equipment and materials. Mr. Goodall said students were allowed to borrow tools to take home over the weekend and use as their own. He said the tools were always returned and equipment was well taken care of since they looked upon it as their own. He said approximately 660 boys go through the Industrial Arts classes each day.

The other five teachers and their course in Industrial Arts were introduced. The courses included Drafting I and II, Metal work, Power Mechanics, and Electricity and Electronics:

> Each gentleman conducted a tour of his classroom and gave a brief outline of course study and objectives and a portion of time for questions and answers. (10/10/72)

In October, 1972, the Board expanded and formalized one part of its adult education program, the Adult High School Diploma Program. From time to time, our chronicle has noted these upward extensions of high school education beyond the normal program ending at eighteen years of age. The preamble to the Administration's document, passed by the Board, suggests items relevant to our more general concerns on innovation:

> The Statement Department of Education approves and encourages the development of adult educational programs designed to accomplish diploma completion. Such programs must follow guidelines established by the State and must have authorization of the local Board of Education.

> The need for such a program is evidenced by the number of calls each year from former high school students who have failed to gain the diploma. (10/10/72)

This was followed by three typed pages of conditions and credits, indicating attempts to work within job and family responsibilities, to integrate with past milatary training, and to meet local conditions.

The Board returned to the CTA issues in late October, 1972.

> A lengthy discussion was held in regard to the request of the CTA to re-instate the name Community Teachers Association in Board Policies instead of "members of the Certificated Staff of the District." and to re-instate the Board of Review Policy.
>
> It was the feeling of the Board that they were taking a democratic approach as a public organization and in spite of the change in Policy, the CTA was still recognized as the dominant organization of the District. Upon the recommendation of the Superintendent, the majority of the Board felt that the policy should remain as it is at this time. (10/14/72)

Apparently this discussion did not get communicated to the CTA, for in late November the President of the CTA wrote a letter questioning the Board's position. He indicated also that an NEA Evaluation Team would be in Milford December 10,11,12, 1972, and would like to meet with the Board. The Board agreed to meet with the team on the evening of the 11th. A meeting with the CTA salary committee was set for January because of "several meetings already scheduled for December."

In January, 1973, the Board met with community leaders and the selected members of the Senior High School administration and faculty for discussions of a bond issue for an auditorium and swimming pool for the High School.

> Mr. Bakan, Principal, spoke of the need for an auditorium and swimming pool at the Senior High School. With an auditorium, the drama and music department would be able to expand their areas of study and by moving the music department, the industrial arts department would be able to expand their facilities and increase course offerings. The swimming pool would enable the physical education department to have more teaching stations. (1/9/73)

On February 27th, the election returns indicated the Bond issue was defeated: 3,825 for to 1,948 against. In March, the Board decided to resubmit the Bond issue in April. It failed again in April 3,541 versus 2,059, 63.2%. Discussion in April centered on 1) the non public school students and feelings that they would be able to use facilities, and 2) those individuals in favor of either the poor or the auditorium but not both, and the advisability of separating the issues. The Board decided not to take any further action at the moment (4/17/73).

Other curricular changes were occurring in the New Junior High School. Seventh grade students who scored high on the reading test could take a class in conversational German, French, or Spanish. Besides the advantages to these students, the program:

> ...gave the reading teachers more time to spend with students who were having reading difficulties. (3/13/73)

The Assistant Superintendent indicated that plans were being made to implement the program next year at the other Junior High School.

The Board received a letter from a local college president calling the Board's attention to a May "Alternative Learning Festival" to be held in the Metropolitan area. The Board postponed any action on March 27, 1973.

Later in the 1972-73 year, the Board voted to stay with the $4.91 tax levy for the next year, consequently there would be no tax election.

In the Autumn of 1973, another issue, the education of handicapped children returned like an old friend. During the Patron Participation Time in the Board meeting:

> Mrs. Johns asked to speak to the Board and asked what plans Milford has to help the handicapped children in the District.
>
> Dr. Luther said that Milford had several classes of learning disabled and emotionallly disturbed children under the direction of the Metropolitan Exceptional Child Program. A handicapped census is to be conducted in the District but there are no immediate plans for these children other than working closely with the Metropolitan Program.
>
> In response to Mrs. Johns' question as to what plans are there for children who do not qualify for the Metropolitan Program, Dr. George said it is possible with the new House Bill that the Metropolitan Program may be able to expand their facilities and that is why the District is conducting a door to door census of handicapped children. (9/25/73)

Specialization of administrative duties continued as programs expanded:

> ...the Board authroized Mr. Muldoon, Administrative Assistant for Government Programs and Adult Education, to sign all State and Federal Reports concerning Title II Public Law 89-10, Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. (9/27/73)

That same evening, the Board set a date for its annual inspection of the schools, Saturday, October 6, 1973, at 8:30 A.M.

The special education problems which had been so difficult for Milford and the other small school districts of Suburban County for many years, had been resolved in the late 1960's by a Metropolitan Exceptional Children's Program. In October, 1973, the Board heard a report, as part of their regular schedule of educational meetings, on the Exceptional Children's Program and contemplated legislation in a House committee of the State Legislature. The minute capsules the current status of this strand for our story:

> Mr. MacGregor said that the Exceptional Child Program had received tremendous cooperation from the Milford School District Staff. The Program has one class at Milford Junior High School and one class at the Senior High for educable mentally retarded; six classes for the emotionally disturbed at Edinburg, Johnson, and Williams Elementary School; and three classes for the educable mentally retarded at Williams Elementary School. Mr. MacGregor said they have classes such as these through out the county as well as Exceptional Children Schools for children who are not capable of handling the situation of a regular school.
>
> Mr. MacGregor said that H.B. 686 would become a law in July, 1974, and would help the Exceptional Children's Program to expand their programs to help every handicapped child between the ages of five and twenty-one. However, one of the big problems is to find qualified staff members to handle expanded programs. Mr. MacGregor said Milford is to be commended for the outstanding job they were doing on taking the handicapped census.
>
> A question and answer session followed with Mr. MacGregor answering questions from the audience, Board, and Administration. (10/9/73)

When national policy or concerns, or perhaps patriotism coincide with frugality, Milford's action seems quite predictable--educational "frills" disappear like fog on a warm Spring day or robins in the Autumn chill:

> The Board authorized Dr. George to cancel all field trips in the District, effective at the end of the day on November 21, 1973. By taking this action, approximately 1,000 gallons of gasoline would be saved each month.

> Dr. George said the administration was studying several ways to conserve energy in an effort to cooperate with the Federal and State Governments in the energy crisis. (11/13/73)

A month later, proposals on heating, lighting, and bus transportation were submitted. Two months later, the CTA President objected to the elimination of field trips. The Board President indicated that they "had studied the situation very carefully before they made their decision" and that "athletic trips may have to be eliminated next." (1/22/74)

In February, 1974, at the request of the high school administrators, students, and parents the Board decided to resubmit the Bond issue "for an auditorium, swimming pool, library remodeling, and purchase of ten school busses."

Through the Winter of 1973-74, several minutes indicate that the Board had discussions with the junior and senior high schools:

> ...in regard to discipline procedures and how the various discipline problems were handled and also the reasons they were handled in a certain way. (2/12/74)

None of the content of the discussions appeared in the documents.

7.4 Summary

Perhaps a bit arbitrarily we have cut the discussion of Milford, almost midstream in the Spring of 1974. Dr. George's "quiet" middle period was drawing to a close. The first brief, formal reports and discussions of declining enrollment and retrenchment were beginning in the minutes. Because they were to herald massive changes in the District, we end here and leave them to introduce "The Years of Retrenchment and Other Changes." In this way, we enter into what is for us the final period of Dr. George's superintendency, the period coinciding with our return to the Milford District in general and the Kensington School in particular. For Dr. George, his Board, and his administration, the period is not the the final one, rather it's just "the next one," with its own kind of puzzlements, difficulties, and joys.

8. THE YEAR RETRENCHMENT BEGAN: 1974-75

8.1 Introduction

As we have argued on several occasions, the defining of exact periods in the life of a school district has an arbitrary quality. As not so casual readers of Board records, the brief and abrupt minute in March of 1974 jolted us to attention:

> A discussion was held in regard to the budget for the 1974-75 school year. Dr. George informed the Board that a cut of 17½ staff members would be made for the 1974-75 school year due to the decrease in enrollment. (3/12/74)

That same evening ten teachers were told that "...due to the decline in enrollment, they would not be rehired for the 1974-75 school year." All were elementary teachers. They came from seven different schools. A month later, resignations were accepted for ten more teachers for the usual reasons of family, moving, employment elsewhere, and retirement. The "years of retrenchment" were underway.

Although we define this part of our story and interpretation as "The Years of Retrenchment", it is only the first among a skein of very important themes that continued to be played out. We set the issues initially in the trauma of closing schools. Intertwining with that are items such as teacher activism, continued serious financial problems, and the beginning of a major Black population in Milford.

8.2 The Trauma of Closing Schools

Introduction

In Milford, the label is "Housing Committee." This is the group that directly attacks the issues of drawing and redrawing of attendance area boundaries, analyzes the interplay of declining enrollments and the closing of classrooms and schools, and makes recommendations to the Superintendent and Board. The decision making isn't a simple rational-linear process for the housing committee, composed of experienced administrators, knows the sentiments of the central office staff and the Board:

> A housing committee composed of Mr. Garrison, Chairman, Merton, Jardin, Wiers, and Unrock, Principals in the District, was formed several months ago to study the effects of the declining enrollment of the District. After several months of extensive work on this project, the Committee presented their findings and recommendations to the Board of Education on March 26.[22] Based on the projected enrollment and after a thorough study of several different options, the Committee recommended that the Grant Elementary School and the Marquette Elementary School be closed for the 1975-76 school year.
>
> At the request of the Board, Mr. Garrison and the Committee presented the housing report to the large group of patrons from the Grant area attending the Board meeting. Mr. Garrison said using the latest census figures there was a loss of over 300 students this year and the projected enrollment for the next five years showed a decrease of 822 elementary students by the 1978-79 school year. Mr. Garrison said using a pupil-teacher ratio of 25-1 there would be 33 classrooms empty in the 1978-79 school year. He said it was the committee's recommendation that two schools be closed in the 1975-76 school year. The proposed boundary changes were shown on the overhead projector.

---

[22] Neither the Board minutes nor the Superintendent's agendas of March 26, 1974 notes this item.

> President Reeves opened the meeting to the audience and a lengthy question and answer period ensued after which President Reeves thanked the patrons for attending the meeting and giving the Board their viewpoints. He said the Board would have several more hearings such as this and a very thorough study would be made before any decision was made. (4/2/74)

The Spread of the Problem

The surface of poignant personal stories appeared in the minutes:

> Mrs. Frich said she had been elected by the Field Elementary School Mothers' Circle to speak to the Board in regard to Mr. Ames, a probationary teacher, whose contract was not renewed for next year. Mrs. Frich said Mr. Ames had done such a good job with the children and they liked him so much. She said she knew the financial situation of the District was not good but she hoped the Board would reconsider and keep Mr. Ames at Field or at least some place in the District.
>
> President Reeves thanked Mrs. Frich for her comments and said that it was not the money factor so much but the decline in enrollment. He said this situation had been discussed and if there were any resignations, Mr. Ames would be considered. (4/23/74)

Also at the regular April 23rd meeting, the Superintendent's agenda Item VII stated:

> Selection of Dates, Times, and Places for Public Hearings Regarding Boundary Changes and School Closings.
>
> This item is for discussion and/or action. (4/23/74)

The item in the Board minutes came out this way:

> Mr. Garrison, Chairman of the Housing Committee, said the Committee was formed last October to study the declining enrollment of the District and prepare a recommendation to the Board. He said they had asked for a decision to be made by May 1. However, Mr. Garrison said the Committee had cut the number of options presented to the Board at an earlier meeting to four and the Committee would like to have the Summer to study these options, the final census report, and the Fall

> enrollment and bring their findings back to the Board September 10, 1974. He said at that time a schedule of public hearings could be set up. Mr. Garrison said the four options the Committee wanted to study this Summer were:
>
> 1) Close two schools in the 1975-76 school year
> 2) The same except a decision of closing two schools of the three schools--Williams, Grant and Marquette
> 3) Close all three schools in the 1976-77 school year
> 4) Maintain all 11 attendance areas for the next five five years and then conduct another study
>
> President Reeves thanked Mr. Garrison and the Committee and said that the Board would expect to receive a report at the September 10, 1974 Board meeting.

The sentiments of patrons become known through personal appearances and letters. A Mr. John Charmin appeared before the Board regarding "the rumor he had heard" about the Marquette School:

> He said he was concerned that the school would be sold and apartments would be built which would hurt property values. He wanted to know if the rumor was true that the school would be closed and if the Board could legally sell the building.

The Board President indicated no decision had been made and none would be made until Fall, but that the Board could sell the building. A letter arrived from a committee in Carlton Heights with concern over the closing of the Grant School. They raised questions of itemized cost reductions, "the human element", the consequences of a nearby parochial school closing, busing of students and the state subsidy, and the possible influx of females with young children.

In late June, 1974, the Housing Committee reported that they had checked with two other districts about what they were doing, one of which had spent $10,000 on outside consultants and local authorities at City University:

> In response to the questions from the Board asking Mr. Garrison if he felt they needed outside help, he said they did not feel they needed outside help but wanted the Board to be aware that they have explored outside help to find out what they have to offer. He said he would keep the Board posted as to what the Committee was doing. (6/25/74)

These remarks seem in keeping with the localist, independent, solve-one's-own-problems approach that characterize the community, board and central office administration. The contrast with the Spanman philosophy is remarkably clear.

Citizen Initiatives

Those commentators who speak of citizen apathy have not been to Milford when elementary school boundaries have changed nor now when the possibilities of closing a neighborhood school has arisen. At the eventful Board meeting of September, 1974, a major citizen initiative was underway:

> Mr. Peter B. Anderson, Chairman of "Concern Citizens of the Grant/Carleton Community", said he didn t want to take a lot of the Board's time but wanted to present to the Board a petition containing 2100 signatures. Mr. Anderson said the signatures were secured in the Carleton Heights area and were signed by people interested in keeping Grant Elementary School open. He said they were very impressed by the number of signatures and hoped this would give the Board of Education an idea of how people felt in regard to the school closing. (9/10/74)

On earlier occasions these efforts had been successful. Now the demographic changes were the beginnings of tidal wave proportions.

Housing Committee Report

On September 10th, 1974, the Housing Committee submitted its report. Copies would be made available to any citizen although the Board

President hoped people would share them because of their length. The Chairman, Mr. Garrison, reported briefly that they were on schedule, that they had talked with a lot of people, that enrollment declines were occurring across the country as well as locally, that a variety of enrollment and financial data were related to several possible options:

> After a lengthy question and answer period pertaining to the report, a discussion was held in regard to community hearings. The dates established were October 2 at Kensington, October 7 at New Junior High School, and October 9 at Hillside Elementary School. It was the consensus of the Board that announcements of the public meetings be issued through the newspapers, radio, flyers sent home with elementary children, and a newsletter be sent to all District residents informing them of the public meetings. (9/10/74)

The report itself is a long, 54 page, complicated document. It's table of contents presents the structure of the argument and gives the reader an appropriate overview. It is presented as Figure 31.

Insert Figure 31 About Here

A number of items from the report seemed critical for both understanding the issues and persuading the community regardless of which option was the final one:

1) The report was prepared by committee members who for the most part had taught and administered during the rising enrollment and overcrowded years.
2) The enrollment figures were:

   1955 -- 4,239
   1970 -- 9,831
   1974-75 -- 8,408

3) As attendance drops so does state aid indexed to Average Daily Attendance.
4) Inflation was just beginning as a serious problem.

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Figure 31: Table of Contents of Housing Report

5) Different choices would have different consequences on the "amount and range of district educational services."
6) The "human equation" loomed large. In this instance the meaning was quite clear:

> In deciding what future course the school system should take, the Board needs also to have understanding of the human equation. How can the community and staff become involved in planning and selecting the choices to be made? In fact, closing schools (if indeed that becomes the decision of the Board) is less a numbers problem than a people problem. Like passing a school bond issue, it is essentially a political consideration. (1974, p. 2)

7) The committee referred to a helpful booklet, Fewer Children, Surplus Space published by the Ford Foundation. As they said:

> These data and suggestions were written to assist Board members and administrators throughout the country to attempt unique solutions for a very similar national problem. We believe their statements are authoritative, relevant and well stated. (p. 2)

The kind of thinking regarding options is shown quite clearly by the outline on "maintaining 11 schools." We've included this as Figure 32.

Insert Figure 32 About Here

The other options focused mostly on dislocation of pupils and the special nature and location of each school (e.g. next to a park).

The procedural items accented--lead time, community involvement, and facing a problem which won't go away. Already the Board was implementing these ideas.

A. Advantages
   1. Semi-neighborhood concept
   2. Opportunities for expanded school programs
      a) arts and crafts
      b) resource
      c) special reading
      d) library
      e) small group
      f) large group
      g) music
      h) P.E. office
      i) exceptional children classroom
   3. Community and school related activities
   4. Enrollment stabilization
   5. Financial savings less important than student displacement
   6. Board concern for public anxiety
   7. Time available for additional board planning
   8. Building(s) more valuable open than closed

B. Disadvantages
   1. Financial savings--$95,000 per school per year (salaries, utilities, and other operating expenditures)
   2. Enrollment imbalance--empty classrooms in some schools
   3. Organizational alternatives limited in some schools
   4. Program alternatives limited

Figure 32: Maintaining 11 Schools Option

Tucked away in the Appendix under a label called "program considerations", and responding to the introductory statement, "All elementary schools in each designated area should: ...", is Milford's conception of the logistics of an ideal school:

1. K-6 program in each area.
2. Sufficient pupils for at least nine classes and no more than 18, each with 20-30 pupils, averaging 25.
3. Instructional space for 35 students in each of music, library, arts and crafts, and physical education.
4. Space for special education students (20-30 pupils) for reading (6-15 pupils), special services, e.g. speech (6-15 pupils).
5. Auxiliary services (office, health, custodial, lunch)

In terms of neighborhood, no child should walk under hazardous conditions (e.g. "heavily traveled roads should be a major consideration in the deciding of boundary lines). Transportation of children should be less than 30 minutes. No facilities should be substandard. The simplicity of these ideas, at least in their verbal expression can be contrasted to "the formal doctrine" of the Kensington School in its original conception.

Complications of Interconnected Schools

If we did not have a systemic perspective before we began, we certainly would have been pushed in that direction at several points. The Board's not so brief forty minute deliberation on a tax levy resulted in the following minute:

> A lengthy discussion was held in regard to the possibility of having a tax levy in the District. Even if one or two schools were closed, it was the consensus that there would have to be a tax increase to have a balanced budget. It was pointed out that even if everything remained the same with no increase in salaries, etc., for the 1975-76 school year, the District

> would still have to dip into balances $350,000. It was discussed that one of the things brought up at the Community Meetings was that people be given an opportunity to vote on a tax levy to keep all the schools open. (10/22/74)

The multiple "ifs" in this statement involved inflation, the raising activism of the teachers for increased salaries and benefits, the squabbling among different groups as to "why my school" if one or more were to be closed, and the citizens' willingness or unwillingness to support all 11 schools in the face of declining enrollments.

At the same meeting, a parent's letter was read, and attached to the minutes, in which reference was made to one of the community meetings, to arguments about which citizen groups were or were not apathetic and were selfish versus concerned with the whole district, to the mix of feelings about the--Board doing what it was going to do anyway. This patron thanked the Board for its time and its efforts to both inform and solicit opinions from the community.

On December 10th, the Housing Committee made a progress report and provoked a discussion indicating:

1) Final report would be ready January 28, 1975.
2) Enrollment figures had been updated.
3) Moving toward a recommendation to close one school in 1975 and two in 1979.
4) Discussions were underway to rent a building to the Metropolitan Exceptional Children's Program.
5) Because of its characteristics (e.g. all on one level, water outlets in each classroom) desired by the Exceptional Children's Program, a new name had entered the list as a possibility for closing the Field Elementary School. This brought a predictable response, a negative reaction from the community in which the Field School is located.
6) Discussion occurred over renting versus selling the buildings.

7) The Board's next meeting would be January 14th, 1975, and would be held at the Field School to give patrons time for a petition and for the Board "to get as much input as they can to help them make a decision."
8) One patron raised again the vote on a levy which would keep all 11 schools open.

On January 14th, the Superintendent reviewed, for the Board and the citizens, the actions taken to study "the declining enrollment of the District." The appearance of the Metropolitan Exceptional Children's Program (MECP) in the discussions, as a probably rentor, had shifted the planning and thinking. Their first interest was the Field School because of its characteristics--one floor, easy access and egress, and water in each classroom. Elected officials, parents, and teachers had raised resistance to losing their school. A fifth grade youngster read to the Board a letter he had written urging them not to close his school. The depth of citizen concern and the efforts of the Board to maintain some semblance of impartiality and objectivity appeared in a sentence in the minutes:

> In answer to a question as to whether the Board could really say they had not made up their minds, each Board member emphatically stated he had not made any decision as to which schools would be kept open or closed. (1/14/75)

This occurred just before a ten minute recess at 12:10 A.M.

On January 28th, the Housing Committee submitted its final updated report. The Superintendent made four recommendations:

1) Close at least one school and that should be the Grant Elementary School.
2) Lease the Grant School to the Exceptional Children's Program.
3) If a disposition of the Marquette facilities could be made it should be closed also.

4) Readjust the boundaries of the Junior High Schools to just enrollments.

The Board entertained a long patron discussion of the report and the recommendations. Questions and discussion appeared regarding the importance of the 25-1 ratio, the administration's concern not to have a building left "boarded up," a concern for property values in the community surrounding the Grant Elementary School, and questionnaire results which indicated a majority of respondents would not vote for a levy keeping all the schools open. The Board would decide in February.

The Housing Report presented data on "local parochial enrollment":

St. Dominic	252	
St. George	323	
St. John	240	
St. Luke	226	
St. Matthew	430	
St. Paul	288	
St. Peter	146	(1/28/75)

Seven schools with 2,000 youngsters is a sizable minority private school population. It contrasts with eleven public schools:

	Capacity (1-6)	Actual (1-6)
Edinburg	425	319
Field	325	230
Grant	275	161
Hillside	300	246
Johnson	325	168
Kensington	425	426
Marquette	300	239
McBride	400	371
Midvale	425	388
Milford	300	297
Williams	300	203

Milford's substantial Catholic and Lutheran Church population and parochial school enrollment has always been a major ingredient in the Milford Community and in the life of the Milford Public Schools

In February, the NEA and the CTA filed letters opposing closing of schools and reduction of teaching staffs. The NEA group felt that the population projections were in error, teacher-pupil ratios would increase, more children would be bused, financial problems would be helped by parochial school closing and state legislation for school support. The CTA group lamented but saw the need for long term fiscal responsibility. This split among the teachers will become an important issue in its own right.

The denouement regarding enrollments and school closings remained a month off. It came in April toward the end of the school year. The Board voted to close two elementary schools--the Marquette and the Grant. Major change had come to Milford once again.

8.3 Teacher Activism Heats Up

Prologue

In September, 1974, the issue of teacher relationships with the Board arose again. It remained all year and culminated in the election, by a wide margin, of Mrs. LeDuc, the first woman on the Board in a number of years and the first avowed "teachers' candidate." Also, it was the beginning of a longer, several year, period of extreme conflict in the Board in which the balance of power would move toward 3-3 votes. Further, it jeopardized Superintendent George's position. And, as a consequence, it raised similar turmoil with all the Central Office staff, where line authority exists and the members hold tenure only as teachers, and consequently serve at the Superintendent's pleasure. The "pleasure" of a Superintendency rocked by 3-3 votes may be neither stable nor pleasant. But that's a couple of years away.

The First Salvo

The early minutes in the Autumn of 1974, carried a tone of sharpness which suggests what bigger items were afoot:

> Mr. Yancey said as a patron of the District and a teacher in the District, he would like to ask if the Board had changed their mind in regard to meeting with Midwest State NEA-CTA University Director for Negotiations.
>
> Dr. George said it was the Board's understanding that the Midwest State NEA Attorney had contacted their school attorney and had met with him in regard to this situation.
>
> In response to Mr. Yancey's question as to whether the Board Policy still reads that a consultant may be used, President Reeves said he felt that the Board's position had been made quite clear that discussions would be with the employees of the District and as Mr. Yancy was aware, this had been the position of the Board for three years.
>
> Mr. Yancey said at the last meeting there was some discussion that there was a possibility of running a tax levy. The teachers had stated they were willing to be involved along with parents in working on the levy and that recently he was told by a principal that the Board had already set an amount of 40¢ for a tax increase and he wanted to know why this was done.
>
> President Reeves said this was not true and asked Mr. Yancey who the principal was. Mr. Yancey said he would not say because this might cause a problem for the principal. President Reeves told Mr. Yancey that he had stated this as a fact that the levy was already set and all he was asking was where this came from.
>
> Dr. George asked Mr. Yancey three time if he himself had heard this from a principal and finally Mr. Yancey admitted he had not heard it first hand but from a teacher who said a principal had told her.

> Addressing Mr. Yancey, Mr. Wells said he would like to get something cleared up. Mr. Wells said he (Mr. Yancey) had used the word "negotiations" several times and he had always questioned him about using this term. Mr. Wells said the Board was told three years ago that they were not to negotiate with the teachers and he wanted this made clear and a part of the record. (9/10/74)

The Narrative of the Year

A month (October 9) later the Board had a letter from Mr. Yancey asking for meetings regarding the 1974-75 contracts. The Board's consensus was "the 1974-75 issues are closed." But they were not. In January, Mr. Yancey was back at the Board:

> Mr. Yancey, spokesman for the CTA said the Association had set a meeting with the Board of Education last January to try and reach an agreement on salaries. He said since an agreement could not be reached, the Association had resorted to the Circuit Court and he hoped an agreement could be reached this evening. He said that as going over figures, they had been dealing with many amounts from the initial meeting and there were funds allowed to build up. (1/14/75)

From then on the Superintendent, the Board's lawyer, the CTA's lawyer, the Board President, Mr. Reeves, and Mr. Yancey went at it. The dispute involved the set of figures in Fegure 33.

Insert Figure 33 About Here

Arguments appeared at every point, but the critical one concerned the three additional teachers (actually individuals who had been Riffed). Should the $26,662 have been disbursed to the teachers on the time?

1.	80% of State Money	$2,247,162
2.	Previously Budgeted	2,108,000
3.	Remainder	139,162
4.	$150 Added to Base	112,500
		26,662
	3 Additional Teachers	20,807
		$ 5,855

Figure 33: Figures Presented by Dr. George

The Teacher Salary and Welfare Committee tried to raise items for the 1975-76 contracts in March of 1975. The Board President refused because the current year's case was still before the Circuit Judge. The Writ of Mandamus had been dismissed but the remainder of the petition would be heard on April 28th. They agreed to look at the teachers' list of "Items of Concern." The list contained 28 specific items, included as Figure 34.

Insert Figure 34 About Here

Two weeks later, Mr. Yancey was back at the Board. A number of the items were discussed, but always in the background was the teachers' pending suit:

> After much further discussion, it was agreed that if Mr. Pierce (the Board lawyer) and Mr. Earlham, Attorney for the Milford NEA, could agree on the language and draw up a memorandum to the Court preserving the position of both parties, Board representatives would meet with representatives of the Milford NEA for discussions as soon as possible.
> (3/25/75)

Concurrently with the "haggling" among the CTA, the Central Administration, the Board and the lawyers, another group had been meeting regarding Staff Reductions. The Superintendent's Agenda stated it this way:

> A committee of Administrators and Teachers has worked for some time on a Staff Reduction Policy which would provide for a fair and orderly reduction of the teaching staff in relation to declining enrollment...
>
> A copy of the Policy is included as Appendix "Y".

1.0 A beginning salary base of $9,000
1.1 A recision (sic) of the "block of time requirement" for the 1975-76 school year
1.2 Payroll deductions for our association dues and sponsered programs
1.3 More than one tax sheltered annuity program
1.4 Provision for a board-paid salary protection program
1.5 Improvement of present dental insurance program
1.6 Provision for optical care
1.7 Extra pay for extra duties occurring outside regular school day
1.8 Reimbursement of teachers with released time, extra duty pay, additional compensation time (sick leave), for additional responsibilities beyond the normal class schedule
1.9 Deducting cost of substitute only from a teacher's pay rather than the present amount
2.0 Reduction of staff be made on basis of senority in our District
2.1 Guarantee of a definite number of professional days per year
2.2 Compensation of teachers for unused sick days upon retirement, permanent disability, or separation from the District
2.3 Establishment of a permanent curriculum committee to study and upgrade curriculum materials. Committee to be equally appointed by the association and the administration
2.4 A maximum class size of 20 in the elementary and 25 in the secondary levels
2.5 Reimbursement of teachers for their required annual physical examination up to 15 dollars
2.6 Increase in the number of sick days allowed each year
2.7 Adoption of a maternity leave policy with provisions following the EEOC guidelines
2.8 A reduction in the average salary differential between administrators and teachers in our District. Average to be no more than $2,000-$2,500
2.9 Recognition of the Milford NEA as the bargaining representative in our District.
3.0 Allowance for elementary as well as secondary teachers to participate in curriculum study days
3.1 A grievance procedure with definite time-lines and binding arbitration
3.2 Provision for a longevity step on present index schedule beginning at 15 years experience.
3.3 Provision in the future for released day on suburban, state, national sponsored workshop for teachers
3.4 Revision of present discipline policies in the District and provision of special programs for habitual discipline problems
3.5 Release of the President of the Association upon request. Substitute to be paid for by the organization
3.6 Establishment of a committee of teachers to examine alternative grading systems. Appointed jointly by the association and the administration.
3.7 Establishment of a Human Relations Program immediately
3.8 Equal pay for equal work regardless of sex

Figure 34: Items of Concern by Milford NEA

Recommendation: It is recommended that Board Policy No. 4121-Staff Reduction, be approved as included in Appendix "Y." (3/25/75)

That policy was a long, four page, single space, statement. Briefly included:

1. A general preamble:

   Preservation of the educational program for children and youth must be the primary consideration in any staff reduction.

2. Guidelines as required by State Tenure Law:

   2.1 No permanent teacher qualified in a relevant area to be released before probationary teachers
   2.2 Retention on merit within field of specialization
   2.3 No new teachers appointed when qualified teachers are on unrequested leave.

3. Additional guidelines:

   3.1 Reduction on a district basis rather than by building.
   3.2 Seniority defined by years of service *in the district* (Our italics)
   3.3 Area of competence determined by certificate, grade level, department preference, and experience
   3.4 Quality of performance by regular evaluation.
   3.5 Block of time system used for those on tenure

Class	A	1st Year
	B	2-3 "
	C	4-5 "
	D	6-8 "
	E	9-12 "
	F	13-17 "
	G	18 "

4. Reinstatement after involuntary leave and involuntary transfers (closing of buildings) follow much the same criteria

   4.1 In closed building, senior block of time teachers get chance for openings.
   4.2 No bumping (3/25/75)

Later in the evening, the Board moved to have Policy No. 4121, Staff Reductions:

> ...which was designed for a fair and orderly reduction of the teaching staff in relation to declining enrollment.

be sent to the school lawyer for review and brought back to the Board. Among a number of generalizations that might be drawn, one strikes us as critical. No issue in Milford is ever of a single piece. On the one hand, the Board is locked into a legal dispute with one piece of the teaching staff. On the other hand, a committee of principals and teachers is working on a policy regarding "Reductions-in-Force." Each item in the policy is fraught with potential conflict, e.g. years of service in the district, block time scheme for those on tenure.

The Split in the Teachers' Group

Once again, we wonder if Milford is an atypical instance in its proneness to conflict, squabbling, and no one agreeing with anyone else. This time, it's the teachers. On May 13th, in a discussion of the failed levy, the reasons it failed, and the future alternatives and prospects, these minutes appeared:

> Mrs. Sally Lilienthal, President of the CTA-MSTA (Midwest State Teachers Association), said if the levy were run again, the CTA-MSTA would be willing to work anyway they could to help pass the levy. She said most people would be available the first two weeks after school was out but she did not know how many would be available after that.
>
> It was discussed that a number of things had to be done very soon such as scheduling the students, the number of teachers for next year, etc., and President Reeves said the possible date for an election could be June 17, 24, July 1, or 8. Dr. George said that based on what he had heard the last few days, he thought the levy should be run on June 17 and at 43¢.

> However, Dr. George said he didn't feel that a tax levy should be resubmitted unless both teacher organizations support it.
>
> Dr. George asked Miss Campbell, President of the MNEA, if they would work for the levy and Miss Campbell said she would but she could not speak for the others. Dr. George then asked Mr. Liddell, the President of MNEA for next year, if he could come to the Representatives meeting of the MNEA which was to be held the next day and speak to them and Mr. Liddell said he was not prepared to answer. Dr. George then asked Mr. Liddell if he would let him know the next day and Mr. Liddell said he would.
>
> In response to Mr. Wells' questions as to whether the CTA-MSTA would support the levy even if the other organization didn't, Mrs. Sally Lillienthal said the CTA-MSTA would work for it as they did before but she could not understand why the MNEA would not work for it since they were on record as wanting to keep the 28 teachers that were on involuntary leave and with the passage of the 43¢, these teachers would be rehired.
>
> Dr. George said in regard to the last tax levy, the MNEA said they would not oppose or support it ans some of the teachers of the organization did work for the levy. He said the 43¢ has a much better chance of passing if both organizations work for it.
>
> Mrs. LeDuc said she thought the District had tried to pass a 43¢ levy and the voters had said they would not pass it and she did not feel there was much of a chance passing it.
>
> Mr. Eastland said the money was needed and he felt the District has got to stop bargaining with the public and take a stand as to what is wanted for the children of the District.
>
> Mrs. LeDuc said she agreed that if everyone worked and supported the levy there would be a much better chance of passing it. (5/13/75)

Shortly thereafter, the Board moved, seconded, and passed unanimously a resolution for a 43¢ levy for Tuesday, June 17th, 1975:

> ...with the contingency that both teacher organizations support and work for the levy. (5/13/75)

While the particulars belong to Milford, our hunch is that the phenomenon of teacher unrest and serious division in the degree of activism desired occurred in other suburban districts in the metropolitan community. The farther reaches of militancy did not appear. The American Federation of Teachers (AFT) was not a significant group among the District staff. Metropolitan City, however, did have a strong AFT group which vied with the NEA group for representation as spokesperson for the teachers. Nussbaum was neither martyr nor legacy in the District.

The long term ripples which remained in later years at Kensington were self perceived influences on careers. It was believed by most that outspoken advocacy of teacher activism precluded any possibility of moving into a principalship or eventual central office administration. In the eyes of most, the pool of principal possibilities was composed of conservative "company men." Scholars who see the world in terms of power, localist norms, conformity, and social rank (promotion) would have a template that fits much of Milford today.[23]

8.4 Money: The Schools' Eternal Guillotine

Perhaps if we had been trained as accountants or tax specialists, our focus on money would have been sharper and more prominent in our story and analysis. As a theme it runs all through our narrative.

---

[23] Shortly after this was written (June, 1982), one of the old militants at Kensington, John Bannon, became an acting principal. Concurrently he shaved his beard and began wearing a suit.

In the Winter of 1975, Assistant Superintendent Allen Eastland presented a ten page document entitled "Information, Preliminary Budget 1975-76." It was the first such document to be included in the minutes which contained a "financial overview" as well as tables of figures. In brief but clear prose the document indicates the financial turbulence with which Milford was coping. The turbulence was mostly negative. It can be summarized as a half dozen points:

1. The District has four primary sources of revenue: local property taxes and intangible taxes, county revenues, state minimum foundation money, and federal programs.
2. The District assessed valuation which had been increasing at several million dollars a year, now had dropped to a three hundred thousand dollar increase.
3. Intangible and personal property taxes were eliminated in the State. The District would lose $70,000 immediately; the State was scheduled to replace this.
4. The State formula is based on average daily attendance, the declining enrollments had dropped the figure from 8772 ADA in 1970 to 7,550 estimated for 1975.
5. Federal revenues were characterized as "in and out accounts", "matching", and "uncertain." The biggest item related to PL874, patrons who work on federal contracts. Uncertainty here could cost the District $50,000 to $60,000 per year.
6. Expenditures had increased steadily since 1968-69; the per pupil cost was up 69% in that period. Salaries, wages, and inflated costs of materials and supplies (which means literally everything) were the major factors.
7. The District was engaging in deficit spending in 1974-75.
8. Local tax dollars are split among teachers' fund, incidental fund, building fund, debt service fund.

The table of categories and figures is included as Figure 35.

Insert Figure 35 About Here

Revenue

Local	5,985,000
County	463,000
State	3,081,000
Federal	194,000
	9,723,900

Expenditures

Administration	181,900
Instruction	6,848,800
(principals' 607,000; teachers' 5,400,000)	
Health	36,500
Pupil Transportation	238,000
Operation of Plant	761,200
Maintenance of Plant	300,000
Food Services	490,000
Student Body Activities	220,000
Community Services	44,600
Capital Outlay	48,500
Debt Services	819,000
	10,611,200

(1/14/75)

Figure 35: Milford Financial Sheet:
Revenue and Expenditures

These budget figures intersect with the "problems of 1974-75--declining enrollments, school closings, teacher activism, and a recalcitrant community of tax payers. One minute seems to capture all this:

> Dr. George showed slides in regard to the amount of tax levy that would be needed to maintain eleven elementary schools with a 25-1 pupil/teacher ratio and including no salary raises for personnel which would be 77¢; with closing one school and renting it to the Exceptional Children's Program it would require a 65¢ tax levy; and with closing two schools it would require a 55¢ tax levy. (1/28/75)

At the next meeting, the budget discussion continued:

> A lengthy discussion ensued in regard to the amount of tax levy needed to keep all the schools open, give a $200 raise on the base to the teachers, and the same amount of raise as last year to the noncertificated staff, which would come to a total of a 97¢ increase in the tax rate. (2/11/75)

The discussion continued:

> It was a consensus of the Board that the patrons should be given a chance to vote for a levy that would keep all the schools open. (2/11/75)

The Board voted unanimously for the 97¢ increase to $5.88 for the levy. The money would be distributed as: .44 for teachers' levy, .42 incidental fund, and .11 for the building fund.

The guillotine would drop. The community would not support a levy of this magnitude. The Board, the administration, and the teacher staffs deliberations their options, and their actions would continue to be constrained to a significant degree.

8.5 Community Change: The American Dilemma Reappears

Our narrative over the years has attended to the theme of Black education since the 1920's. That story has ebbed and flowed over the years. The building of the Attucks School in the 1920's and the "separate but equal" program lasted until the mid 1950's. With the Brown versus Topeka watershed decision, the education of Blacks in Milford changed dramatically. In the Autumn of 1955, Black adolescents were no longer sent to Aubuchon Woods for high school nor, as they had been earlier, to an all Black high school in Metropolitan City. At the request of the Black parents, supported by the NAACP, the youngsters were integrated into Milford High School. A year later, amidst generally crowded conditions in the elementary schools, the Attucks School was closed and the Black elementary age youngsters were integrated into the regular elementary schools. Some concern appeared among the Black parents about losing their school which was one of the centers of the community. Except for a few letters between the Board and the Board President from Metropolitan City about helping solve both the housing of students and the integration of City youngsters, to which the Board responded with its general localist perspective, racial issues did not appear in the Milford minutes.

In the 1974-75 year, decisions were being made regarding the closing of one or two schools because of declining enrollments in the district. One of the original 16 options raised by the Housing Committee involved the closing of the Field Elementary School. However, when the possibility of renting a school or two to the Metropolitan Exceptional Children's Program (MECP), the name of Field appeared once again. It had large and spacious rooms, all on one floor, easy entrance and egress, and it was one of the few schools with water and sinks in every classroom. The administration of MECP cast a lustful eye in their direction. Local government officials, parents, and faculty reacted negatively to their "being the one" to be closed. The faculty wrote a three page memo to the Superintendent listing thirteen (13) reasons "for keeping Field School open for use by children of the Milford School District." The thirteenth reason links the retrenchment story to the American Dilemma story:

> 13. It is a successfully integrated school--as evidenced by lack of serious racial problems. (1/14/75)

The Milford community continued to change. This time, Suburban County was a part of the Black migration out of the central city and into the suburbs. Milford was (is) one of these suburbs. This one sentence is the first mention in the Board minutes (actually a memo bound with the minutes).

The Milford NEA Items of Concern in the Spring of 1975, included an item (Number 27 in a list of 28):

> 3.7 Establishment of a Human Relations Program immediately (Association recommends due to an influx of ethnic minority group into our community schools) (3/11/75)

No further discussion occurred, or was recorded, at this time.

This theme will rise in prominence during the next few years and vie with retrenchment and teacher activism as the central issues in the remaining years of our story. The Kensington School story, both its history (Volume III) and its current 1979-80 status (Volume IV) carries this discussion into the daily lives of children, parents, teachers, and administrators as they attend to the problems of teaching and learning. For now, it is sufficient to indicate that the American Dilemma theme has returned to the District and in a very different form. The Black community was once a small geographically isolated group of families working at a local manufacturing plant. Now they are part of a larger urban population moving to suburbia.

8.6 The Year-Long Narrative Continues and Ends

Business as Usual

Regular business continued. The unofficial election returns of April, 1974, indicated that Reeves and Wells, who were unopposed, had received 3,246 and 2,605 vortes respectively. An offer of beginning teacher salaries was raised to $8,000. The motion carried a clause "if the offer is rejected" which seems to indicate some contention. And finallly, Mr. Jonas Wales, "upon the recommendation of the Superintendent" was appointed principal of the Field School. He had made a major step toward Kensington. On April 23rd, the Bond Issue for the High School failed, 3,367 versus 1,734; 66.0% was not 66 and 2/3%

Figures from the annual ennumeration supported inference about the continuing decline in enrollments:

Boys	6,978	
Girls	6,905	
Total	13,883	(Decrease of 1,192)

Ten rooms (eight elementary, one junior and one senior high) were rented to the Metropolitan Exceptional Children's Program for special education classes. That program continued to grow.

The Board adopted unanimously, the following levies:

Teachers' fund	$2.88
Incidental fund	1.09
Building fund	.23
Debt Service	.71
Total	$4.91

In November, 1974, District policy changed, that is, was made consistant with "The Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act of 1974." The students cummulative record would contain items related to the students educational welfare, the orderly and efficient operation of the school, and information required by law or state regulation. The professional staff would have access to the records as would parents and guardian and the students themselves if 18 years old. Requests for release would require written consent. National influences continued to alter the Milford School District.

In December, 1974, the business as usual included discussion on: 1) the interconnection between changed time of the high school football games, the increase in price of admission, and the drop off in attendance at the games; 2) the selling of ads, for the first time, in the High School Year Book to help keep the price down; 3) changing the High School Dress Code to permit students to grow mustaches. Internally, decisions are made in response to small problems. The process creates new structures which pose further problems.

Curricular Items

Curriculum problems also are ones that never go away. In the early Autumn a committee of elementary principals, with "input from classroom teachers" had been studying the reading program. The Scott-Foresman series had been in use 24 years with supplemental materials from 29 other companies. A "thorough evaluation" had reduced the companies to eight. The companies, on four consecutive Fridays, had presented their wares to the principals and the reading teachers. Classroom teachers had had opportunities to try demonstration materials in class:

> ...after a thorough evaluation of this input from teachers and principals, it was the recommendation of the Committee that the MacMillan reading program be adopted in the District in grades one through six.
>
> After a question and answer period, Dr. George said the Committee was not asking for an adoption of the program this evening but another report would be given to the Board at the March 25 Board meeting with the amount of cost involved in the program. (3/11/75)

After consideration of detailed reports on the reading series (and its 32 units of work) and on the cost estimates the Board voted unanimously for its adoption on March 25, 1975.

In the wave of changed requirements and curricular emphases in the late 1960's and early 1970's, and with changes at the Midwest State Department level, Milford continued to march to its own music. Graduation requirements were increased from 17 units to 20 units. The differences were another 3/4 credit of P.E. and 2¼ credits of electives. Three units each of English and Social Studies retained the basic education and the citizenship thrust. One unit minimums in each of math, science, fine arts, and practical arts assured some disciplinary literacy. The minimums are a far cry from the available nearly 100 units of credit in the overall high school program. One might argue that the Board was providing a broad array of options for youngsters diverse interests, talents, and life goals yet trying for some minimum standards greater than those demanded by the State Department.

The Board minutes seem a litany of conflicting interests, problems, solutions, debates, and compromises. And somehow schooling--teaching and learning--seems to be going on in schools and classrooms. From time to time parents and patrons write notes which are bound into the minutes. And in a brief paragraph or two they capture poignancy, quiet joy, and basic lifetime satisfactions regarding the schools and their programs. One of these appears as Figure 36.

Insert Figure 36 About Here

Discipline, Social Development, and Citizens-in-the-Making

If anyone had any doubts that the comprehensive American high school is intended to facilitate the socialization of the child and adolescent they should be disabused of that idea by this time--at least for the community of Milford. And this is not to deny that Education, in its more narrowly drawn academic sense, has not been a central component and priority of the schools' purpose, as our account of curriculum expansion over the years gives testimony. But it's the strand of Discipline, Social Development and Citizen-in-the-Making that draws our attention here.

August 26, 1974

Dear. Dr. George:

For the first time in sixteen years I'm not getting one or both of our sons ready to attend school in the Milford School District and I must tell you that it is both a strange and sad feeling I have at this time.

For the most part, my husband and I agree that the boys were treated fairly and we're really quite proud of the fact that they were able to complete their elementary and secondary education at Milford. We tried to attend everything possible so that we'd meet the teachers and principals and we know you employ some of the finest in their fields.

John starts his senior year at State College today and Paul is starting his freshman year at Metro Community College. So, I guess what this letter is for more than anything else is to thank you and the Board members for the outstanding job you do for our young people. I assure you we will continue to support the schools and we wish you much success in this new school year and the one ahead.

Sincerely,

Mrs. William Spencer

Figure 36: Letter from a Parent

Discipline problems, however defined, also never seem to be resolved ultimately. In February of 1975, a teacher/student conflict arose over a youngster's breaking into a lunch line. After some abusive language by the student, the teacher took the youngster's arm. The student struck the teacher several times, according to a cafeteria worker who witnessed the event. After a lengthy discussion with all parties in the Board meeting:

> ...it was the consensus of the Board that a resolution should be made informing employees of the District that the Board would not tolerate a student striking any employee of the District. The Superintendent was directed to draft a resolution and bring it back to the Board at the next meeting. (2/28/75)

The remainder of the semester suspension of the youngster by the Superintendent was sustained unanimously by the Board. At the next month's meeting the Board formally affirmed the stance:

> We believe that discipline is essential to the education process....Just as physical abuse of students is not tolerated, no staff member should be subject to any physical abuse by any student. Such behavior will be dealt with to the fullest extent of the disciplinary powers of the School District.
> (3/11/75)

The policy was circulated in the community, to parents and to students.

In May of 1975, the District invented another alternative to the earlier corporal punishment and the more extreme suspension or expulsion:

> Mr. Bakan, Principal of the Senior High School, said the Suspension Alternative Class (SAC) is proposed as a pilot program at the Senior High School on a one-year basis. He explained the purpose of the SAC program was: to provide an alternate to suspension in ordinary cases, provide an alternate program

> for the modification and rehabilitation in behavior of students who find it difficult to function in the regular school setting, search for causes of behavioral problems, and provide solutions to enable the students to function in the regular school and provide stimuli for self understanding and self acceptance to change. (5/1975)

Rules seem to be crystallizing. Alternative options continue to be developed.

The Strands Come Back Together: Ending the 1974-75 Year

In later years, District officials would recall the 1974-75 year as "the first of four bad years" or "the tip of the iceberg" of problems. For the outsider, April Fool's Day, April 1, 1975, seemed almost symbolic, as the occasion for the regular Board meeting. Each of our strands seemed to be marked off with an exclamation mark or a question mark. The half dozen items can be summarized quickly:

1. The only incumbent running for election, barely made it (3,813 votes). The big winner was Mrs. LeDuc, 4,815. The losers received 3,761 and 3,247 votes.
2. The tax levy failed 2,280 for and 7,001 against.
3. The Superintendent recommended closing the Grant School (to be rented by Exceptional Children's Program) but not the Marquette (which had no definite rental bid). The Board voted unanimously to close both.
4. The Board voted to resubmit a 43¢ increase in the tax levy (.20 + .17 + .06).
5. The Board voted not to renew 19 teacher contracts and to place 29 teachers on leave of absense, subject to the levy passing.
6. The Superintendent was given a new three year contract, $3,300 above the highest assistant superintendent.

Later meetings saw the strands of events reaching resolution and, in a sense, coming together. On April 9th:

1. The school lawyer and the Milford NEA lawyer agreed on language protecting each party in the suit, but permitting the two groups to get on with discussions of the next year's salaries.
2. The Board continued discussion of the tax levy.
3. All of the administrators signed a letter of support of the Superintendent to the Board.
4. The teachers split continued into a more activist group in the Milford NEA and a more conservative group CTA/Milford STA.
5. The Board discussed each of the 28 items in the teachers' list of concerns. The Superintendent's agenda indicated that the Board Committee and the two teachers' committees had met for over 11 hours since April 5th.
6. The Board adjourned at 5:15 A.M.; the meeting had begun at 8:00 P.M., a total of 9¼ hours.

But the coming together of the strands, or perhaps the weblike connections can be seen clearly in the discussion. The two main items were the tax levy which was discussed from 8:00 P.M. to midnight and the teacher concerns which went from midnight to 5:00 A.M. The connections were these:

1. The decline in enrollment powered the drive to close schools and to RIF 14 teachers.
2. Inflation and the shifting tax laws and tax base caused a need for additional taxes to "stay even."
3. The public was "anti tax increase" and had not voted for a levy increase since 1970 when the schools had been closed.
4. A portion of the teachers took a more militant stand--with a threat not to support the levy (which seemed to be seen as tantamount to defeat) if their items of concern weren't addressed. The teacher group split. The Milford's NEA alleged a majority voted "no confidence in the Superintendent." Petitions of support from teachers and staff were signed by what seemed like a majority of the teachers and staff.
5. The principals and central office administrators unanimously supported the Superintendent.
6. The Board gave the Superintendent a vote of confidence, a new three-year contract. This vote occurred before the new member was sworn in.
7. The American Dilemma strand played no apparent role, except for the Board's comment, "This needs more explanation" regarding item 3.7 on the establishment of a Human Relations program.

8. The Kensington School played no major role except that 20 teachers, staff, and principal signed the petition of support for Dr. George and Mr. Reeves, the Board President.

The financial guillotine fell again dramatically in early May. The vote did not even receive a simple majority, 3,009 for and 4,005 against. A week later the Board voted unanimously to resubmit.

So, narratives end, but reality continues. In our view, and in the view of several District Officials, both Staff and Board, 1974-75 was another of those key years, a year when a series of issues flamed initially and would burn hotly for several more years. It's to those we turn to shortly.

9. THE FINAL CHAPTER IN MILFORD'S STORY
1975-1980

9.1 Introduction

Although we label this section "the final chapter in Milford's story", it is really our story which is ending, not Milford's. Briefly, we hope to bring the District story to the 1979-80 school year, the year we returned to Kensington for the intensive ethnography of the school and the year we interviewed most of the former faculty. In this manner our historical context has evolved into a contemporaneous context. The description and interpretation of the contemporaneous Kensington School now will have a contemporary district context and that context can be seen as having evolved out of a 65 year history of struggles to provide an education for the children of Milford.

Rather than detail events in a moment by moment, or minute by minute chronological style we opt to focus on several key issues. The Milford Community appears in demographic form as changing in multiple ways, and through the perspective of two key groups, the Citizens Advisory Committee and the District Housing Committee. Our second major strand involves "the changing school board" which is consequence, correlate, and cause of the community change and school changes. It is perhaps "the story" of this period in Milford. Finally, a half dozen major strands from our earlier history remain as important parts of Milford. Teacher activism reaches its apogee. Federal Programs continue to march through Milford. The American Dilemma takes on another major twist and turn. Through all this the curriculum, conditions of schooling, and student problems of discipline continue. Finally, there is "business business." A concluding image of the Board in June, 1980 completes our chronology and initial interpretation.

9.2 The Milford Community

Philosophic views vary regarding the school's relation to the community, for example should the schools reflect the community or should the schools lead in changing the community? Years earlier, when the high school program was initiated year by year (1927-1931) and when there was a question of its actual survival, one of the Board members at the time commented, "the forward looking elements" prevailed. Perhaps "forward looking" was easier to define and more easily agreed upon fifty years ago than today. Or perhaps the limited post World War I suburbanization, the streetcar transportation linkages, and the semi rural townships and truck farms melded more easily with the new "settlers." Or perhaps times were stabler and the "roaring 20's" had not roared through this part of America.

In the mid 1970's, Milford was a large working class/lower middle class suburban community beginning to be hit with major demographic changes--inflation, enrollment decline, increase in minority population, increased transiency, rise in single parent families, and a slight drop in overall socio economic status. In our view these portend school problems of complex and unimaginable proportions. The interplay of these changes and the actions and reactions of Milford's Board of Education and Administration, as schooling continues, maintains a drama of high significance.

To intellectually grapple with this we present a brief description of the community from a survey conducted for the *High School North Central Evaluation*, a description of "problems" faced by the Board, and an account of two committees, the Housing Committee and the Citizens Committee, which the Board reactivated to help mediate the school community relationship.

A Brief Demographic Description of Milford

Images of communities arise in many ways. Mostly we have accented inferences from items in the Board minutes. Occasionally letters, news accounts, petitions, reports, and interview material have entered. Now, briefly, we excerpt several items responded to by 2200 households in the 1976 Northcentral Evaluation of the Milford Senior High School. It was presented then as a picture of the community. No comments appeared in the minutes that anyone thought it grossly distorted their view of the District.[23]

Perhaps the central educational statistic is the educational level of the patrons. These were broken down by gender into the interesting labels of "husband" and "wife," presumably because the questionnaires went to households:

	Husbands	Wives
Eighth grade or less	11%	7%
Some high school	17%	19%
High school graduate	38%	54%
Some college	22%	14%
College graduate	9%	5%
Advance college degree	3%	1%
	100%	100%

---

[23] In Volume III, we present in considerably more detail, additional data on the demography of the District from census maps and other community records.

In short, a little more than a fourth did not finish high school. A few more of the women have high school certificates as their highest degree. Overall, less than 10% have college and post college degrees, with the men slightly more apt to have done some post high school work. These data suggest a slice of middle America.

Three fourths of the men and women listed Midwest State as their place of birth. This kind of localism seems substantial. Perhaps even more significant is that 90% of the respondents own their own homes, 4% rent homes, and 6% rent apartments. Their longevity in the community is varied. Under "present address", the figures are these:

Less than 1 year	6%
1-3 years	12%
4-6 years	10%
7-9 years	13%
10-15 years	27%
16 or more	33%
	101%[24]

Many, 60%, have lived in the community over ten years.

The income levels reflect, in part, that over half the women list themselves as housewives:

	Men	Women
Less than $3000	1%	32%
3-5999	2%	24%
6-8999	6%	24%
9-11,999	20%	12%
12-14,999	32%	6%
15-20,000	30%	2%
21,000 or more	10%	---

---

[24] Occasionally, rounding off of subcategories throws the totals slightly off from 100%.

The occupational labels, while general, reflect also we believe, the working/lower middle class general description of the community:

Professional	12%	6%
Managerial	14%	2%
Clerical and Sales	9%	24%
Craftsman	16%	---
Operative	13%	2%
Service Worker	6%	7%
Laborer	14%	1%
Misc. & Unclassified	15%	4%
Housewife	---	54%

Among a number of attitude and opinion items about the schools, we present several which seem to capture the overall perspective of the patrons. In regard to program emphasis and priorities, two questions seem significant:

	More Emphasis	About the Same	Less Emphasis
To What Extent Do You Think The High School Should Emphasize Preparation for College?	41%	52%	7%
To What Extent Do You Think The High School Should Emphasize Preparation for a Job?	67%	32%	1%

Milford is a worker's community. They want college preparation available, but they are keenly interested in having their sons and daughters prepared to enter the work force.

The role of the school in the community appears in several items:

	Agree	Disagree	Don't Know
The Community Is Proud of Their School	67%	11%	20%
The School Plays an Important Role In The Life of The Community	77%	8%	15%

	Agree	Disagree	Dont' Know
The School Needs More Financial Resources If It Is To Continue To Be Effective	48%	16%	36%

The large majority approve of the school, but more have doubts about the need for increased resources.

The patron views of Administration and Staff can be seen in several items:

	Agree	Disagree	Don't Know
As A Whole, Teachers In The School Are Concerned About The Individual Student	50%	25%	25%
It Is Easy To Make An Appointment To See Teachers And Administrators In The School	65%	6%	29%
The School Uses Its Resources Of Staff And Money Well	32%	21%	42%

In Milford, the majority perceive Milford as "responsive" to youngsters and parents; however, they remain, as always, more skeptical of the use of personnel and financial resources.

In addition, two items seem perennial and important in the affairs of schooling at the classroom level:

How would you describe the standards (expectations) set by the teachers in your high school?

Much too difficult	2%
Somewhat difficult	16%
About right	62%
Somewhat easy	15%
Too Easy	4%

There is much discussion today about student behavior, student attitudes, and discipline. How would you characterize the discipline in your school?

Too strict	6%
About right	60%
Not strict enough	34%

On standards, two thirds say okay with the other third splitting equally between too difficult and too easy. Almost two thirds see discipline as okay, but most of the rest would prefer a stricter environment for their youngsters.

A final overall evaluation appears regarding the High School:

How would you characterize the quality of education in your high school?

Excellent	12%
Good	48%
Average	34%
Below Average	4%
Poor	2%

As we have indicated, the survey presents another kind of data on the nature of the Milford community and its views on education. No item in the minutes indicated anyone, Board members or Central Office Staff, was surprised by it. Nor were we. Milford became, post World War II, a suburban community of small homes built in tracts, often containing hundreds of units. Most of the people were born in Midwest State and moved out of Metropolitan City and from rural Midwest State into Milford in the '50's, '60's, and '70's.

Multiple Aspects of Community Change

The Autumn of the 1976-77 school year brought another change to the District minutes. The multiple and oft times negative aspects of community change found their way into the Board meetings in the frequency and kind of citizen's complaints, in the Districts multiple involvements with other community agencies and officials, and in the quality and frequency of discipline problems in the junior and senior high schools, and the severity of action taken to those problems. The items seemed to interlock and interconnect into a distinguishable pattern. They bring an "alive" quality of individual patrons, staff, and students for comparison and contrast with the survey data just presented.

Some outspoken citizens have a reputation in the community and Mr. Ravarino's is no exception to that rule. He has frequently had something to say and often it was negative. This time he objected to "motors running" in the Administration building over the weekends, to "lights being left on in district buildings at night." In addition, he indicated:

> ...people would not be interested in voting on a tax levy until they were shown something was being done about the permissiveness of the students in the District. (8/24/76)

His agenda was multiheaded, but money and discipline seem not inappropriate labels for his concerns and threats as a label for his contemplated action.

The "lights on" phenomenon was an attempt to help with a variety of crime problems in the District. The trade offs seemed to be the degree to which it was a deterrent to vandalism and theft versus the expense and cost of the electricity. The issue had come up at an earlier meeting and had stimulated the Superintendent to contact police chiefs in the three municipalities of the Milford School District. The Superintendent presented three letters, all in agreement, which he had received. One Chief put it this way in his letter:

> Light is a deterrent to Vandalism, Breaking and Entering, and Trespassing. It gives the Police Officer and interested citizens an opportunity to observe suspicious persons, and activities in and about our schools, as well as any other Public Buildings and Business places.
>
> Light makes the culprit think twice if there is a possibility that he may be seen, identified, and apprehended. (7/15/76)

Seemingly one makes a judgement that problems are in the offing. Action is taken, which carries costs. Citizens complain. Explanations, rationales, and alternatives are reconsidered.

At the Junior and Senior High Schools, discipline problems are taking on a different quality. They seem more serious, involve more people and are more complicated. We report in toto a few that capture that flavor:

> Mrs. Brown said her daughter Mabel was a student at New Junior High School and the girl who had the locker next to Mabel picked on her and she had to stand there until this girl opens her locker. Mrs. Brown said she told her to tell Dr. Leeper or Mr. Donovan (High School Administrators). She said she was picked on by Mabel again that day and she told the secretary and the secretary told Mabel to tell her Counselor. Mrs. Brown said Mabel signed up to see the Counselor but as yet nothing had been done about the situation. Dr. Leeper assured Mrs. Brown something would be done.

> Dr. George had recommended that Mrs. Brown's son Kurt be expelled from school because of conduct prejudicial to good order, discipline, and danger to the life of another student.
>
> The incident started with a boy pushing Kurt up against a locker. Kurt did not report this to the Administrators and the next day Kurt brought a chain to school and came up behind the boy with no warning and hit the boy with the chain.
>
> Mrs. Brown said what Kurt had done was wrong but he needed to be in school and she didn't know what to do with him. She felt he needed a special school that could give him more time. She said Kurt's Juvenile Officer wanted to know what decision was made by the Board in regard to expelling Kurt.
>
> Dr. Leeper said Kurt had enrolled in May of this year and had been suspended once for skipping school. He said Mrs. Brown did not condone what Kurt had done and had been very cooperative.
>
> President Reeves said the Board and Administration would do anything they could to work with the authorities to help Kurt and Mrs. Brown would be informed of the decision of the Board. President Reeves thanked Mrs. Brown for coming to the meeting.
>
> After a thorough discussion, Mr. Tuley moved that upon the recommendation of the Superintendent, Kurt Brown be expelled from the Milford Schools. Mr. Eastland seconded the motion. The motion carried unanimously. (9/14/76)

A mother has a daughter in the beginnings of difficulty and a son facing serious legal charges in the community and an expulsion from school. The problems requiring night lighting seem to appear during the day also.

In the very next item in the minutes of September 14, 1976, the Board took up another discipline case. This time, social issues entered in several ways:

> Mrs. Angela Monticelli said on the second day of school, her daughter, a student at New Junior High School, was riding the school bus home and was attacked and beaten by a number of colored students on the bus. She said the bus driver stopped once but was told by one of the colored students to turn around and mind her own business and the driver did nothing to

try and stop them. Mrs. Monticelli said they had to take her daughter to the hospital for treatment and showed the Board pictures of her daughter taken after the incident. She said the police were going to take action on the case. Mrs. Monticelli said her daughter could identify only one of the group and he was the one she thought hit her on the back of the head as she got off the bus. Mrs. Monticelli said she didn't feel the school had taken the right approach because some of the kids were suspended for only five days. However, she said her son Ed was suspended for five days for hitting the colored boy her daughter had identified and was put off the football team because he missed practice because of the suspension. Mrs. Monticelli said she didn't think this was fair because he was taking up for his sister and felt he should be allowed to play football.

Dr. Leeper said he spent two days trying to determine who did what. He said it is a problem to take one child's word against another one. Dr. Leeper said that there was one boy on the bus who added fuel to the fire by teasing Mrs. Monticelli's daughter and getting the other children riled up and he was given an indefinite suspension. He said he based the length of the suspensions for the other students on their honesty and truthfulness. He said if it had not been for that, he would not have known who did what.

In regard to Mrs. Monticelli's son Ed fighting, Dr. Leeper said he had talked to him the day before and told him not to do anything foolish as he would be suspended and probably be off the football team.

After a lengthy discussion between Mrs. Monticelli, the Board, and administration, President Reeves told Mrs. Monticelli she would be notified of the Board's decision and thanked her for coming to the meeting.

After further discussion, Mrs. Ostermann moved that Ed Monticelli be reinstated on the football team at New Junior High School. Mrs. LeDuc seconded the motion. A roll call vote was taken as follows:

Mr. Eastland	Yes
Mr. Tuley	No
Mrs. Ostermann	Yes
Mrs. LeDuc	Yes
Mr. Galper	No
Mr. Reeves	Yes

The motion carried. (9/14/76)

Once again families, brothers and sisters are involved. In addition, race is an issue. The school administrators, walking a narrow line on equity and long term trust, are too lenient for the parent who has come to the Board. The punishment of suspension apparently activates another rule: missing football practice, presumably for any reason except illness, means being dropped from the team. The Board, in a split decision, sympathizes with this particular parent this time.[25]

Shortly thereafter, the discipline issues wove back into earlier policy and into the community and citizen concern and action. It was now 2:20 A.M. at the same Board meeting:

> Each Board member was given a copy of the Discipline Resolution adopted by the Board of Education on March 11, 1975.[26] President Reeves appointed Mr. Eastland and Mr. Galper from the Board to work with a committee composed of Mr. Hellman, Chairman of the Discipline Subcommittee of the Citizens Advisory Committee, and someone he would pick, the Superintendent and one staff member to meet with representatives of the staff to discuss problems they have in the classroom and why there are some of the problems such as lack of enforcement of rules, etc. President Reeves said this would allow some means of communication between the Board and teaching staff. (9/14/76)

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[25] Two weeks later, Mrs. Monticelli was back regarding District payment of hospital bills for her daughter. "President Reeves said Mrs. Monticelli and the Board had almost a three hour discussion on this situation in executive session last Board meeting and Mrs. Monticelli knew what action had been taken." (9/28/76)

[26] That policy appeared and reappeared in the minutes, e.g., in the 11/25/75 minutes it was restated:

> ...no staff member should be subject to any physical abuse by any student. Such behavior will be dealt with to the fullest extent of the disciplinary powers of the School District.

Suspension and expulsions were the far reaches of that power. The decisions were almost always unanimous.

Discipline issues comtinued to arise. One boy was expelled for threatening with an open knife and needing to be physically subdued by the principal and three teachers. Another student had to be restrained from hitting his opponent in a fight with a chair he had picked up. In our view the problems, as reported in the minutes and in conversations with District staff, have taken a major turn in severity and the Board was meeting the turn with a "strong" or "hard" line.

Besides increasing contact with such agencies and agents as police chiefs and juvenile court officials, the minutes report a long discussion with the Westside Youth Association. Several letters were attached related to these discussions. The issues carry the dilemmas of "purposive social action" amidst social change. The minutes on September 25, 1976, begin with additional problems at New Junior High School:

> Mrs. Ruggeri spoke to the Board in regard to New Junior High School students hiding in the bushes and not going to school until 10:00 or 11:00 A.M.
>
> Mr. Donetelli talked of the same problems mentioned by Mrs. Ruggeri.

Then, our main point, the entanglements with the Westside Youth Association, arose in the next minute:

> Mr. Ravarino said he was spokesman for most of the people in the audience who were residents of the area. Mr. Ravarino voiced very strong objections to the use of the New Junior High School Athletic field by the Westside Youth Association and asked that the Board make a motion that next year they would not be granted the use of the field and also not to grant any large organization the use of the facilities. Mr. Ravarino said that if this was not done, he would start the next day urging the residents of the area to pay their taxes under protest.

> President Reeves told Mr. Ravarino that motions were not made in Patron Participation portions of the meeting and Mr. Ravarino asked that it be put on the Agenda as the first item of business and Mr. Reeves said this would be done.
>
> Mrs. Reilly talked of lockers being broken into at the New Junior High School. (9/28/76)

Shortly thereafter the Board commenced with the formal agenda and the new Item I:

> This item had been placed on the Agenda at the request of Mr. Ravarino as spokesman for a group of residents that reside in the area of New Junior High School. The residents objected to the use of the New Junior High School Atletic Fields by the Westside Youth Association and asked that the Board deny them the use of the field or they would start a door to door campaign to get the residents of the area to pay their taxes under protest.
>
> After a lengthy discussion, Mrs. Ostermann moved that the Board inform the WYA that they were considering not renewing their permit to use the District's athletic fields next year. Mr. Galper seconded the motion and it carried unanimously.
>
> President Reeves declared a ten minute recess at 10:30 P.M.

Two weeks later the issue returned for further discussion. One resident objected to traffic congestion, speeding, verbal abuse, and vandalism. He said:

> ...a large percentage of these people do not reside in the District and, therefore, are not taxpayers in this District. (10/12/76)

Further arguments indicated that the Suburban County Public Parks program was progressing and their property should be used. The Mayor of Marquette Township indicated he had been asked if the program violated a zoning ordinance. It did not. He urged the Board to put a fence between the school property and the residential property. Mr. Ravarino indicated he hadn't accused the Westside Youth Association of vandalism, "...but their activity brought undesirables into the area that were not residents of the district."

The President of the Westside Youth Association, Mr. Schultz, wrote a long three-page letter responding to each of nine items about which complaints were lodged. He also met with the Board on October 12, 1976:

> Mr. Schultz said the WYA had used the facilities at New Junior High School since 1967 and believed their program had been beneficial to the youth of the local county area. He said their practice sessions were between 6:00 and 8:00 P.M. and they were off the field no later than 8:30 P.M. but the lights were always out by 8:15 P.M. Mr. Schultz said as far as litter, they police the area quite regularly. He said it was reported there were four burglaries in the area and in checking with the Marquette and Carleton Heights Police, there were two and one of them was on the other side of the highway and he did not feel it was done by boys age 7 to 13 years old. Mr. Schultz said the address system is used only to tell parents who is doing what and is operated only at about 60% of the capacity. He said as far as bringing in undesirables, he didn't know what they were talking about. He said they did have some boys from broken homes and they did take boys regardless of race, creed, or origin. Mr. Schultz said there wasn't any question they increased the traffic because they wanted the parents to bring the boys and take them home and encourage them to stay and see them play. Mr. Schultz said approximately 48% of the families participating in the program are Milford taxpayers.

Mr. Schultz indicated that other land had been purchased and progress was under way on new fields. He wanted to leave open the possibility of using the fields if their new location was not ready. The Board responded:

> After a lengthy discussion of the situation, Mrs. Ostermann moved that if the Westside Youth Association requests the use of the New Junior High School fields next year, this be brought back to the attention of the Board to be involved in the decision making. (10/12/76)

The motion passed 5-1.

Seven months later, on May 10, 1977, the Board unanimously approved a request by the Youth Association to use the New Junior High fields from 5:30 to 8:30 P.M. week days and 10:00 A.M. to 8:30 P.M. Saturdays and Sundays. The fields in the new park were not ready as yet.

Our point is first, a simple one, when communities change the schools, as part of the cummunity, change also. Our point is a coupled one as well. The Board's efforts to steer its way through its never ending agenda of immediate practical problems seem really an effort at obtaining some kind of workable equilibrium among multiple values--economics, equity, education, not to mention basic health and safety. Sometimes it seems, "education" becomes lost amidst the contention.

The Return of the Citizens Advisory Committee

Over the years, and particularly in times of stress and turbulence, the Milford Board has appointed and worked with an advisory committee of citizens. In August of 1975, the following minute was recorded:

> A discussion was held in regard to re-activating a Citizens Advisory Committee *since there has been some interest shown in the past few months*. (Our Italics) It was the consensus of the Board that a committee of Board members be appointed to work with the Superintendent and his staff to formulate some

> plans and bring them back to the next Board meeting for furthur discussion. President Reeves appointed Messrs. Eastland, Galper, and Wells to be on the committee.[27] (8/26/75)

Two weeks later the committee reported in a two-page document which we included as Figure 37.

Insert Figure 37 About Here

We also include the verbatim minutes which indicate both some points of emphasis and the internal Board interaction over the proposal. As a consequence, one sees some of the people and issues in contention:

> Mr. Eastland, Chairman of the Board's Sub-Committee for the Citizens Advisory Committee, said the Committee met with Central Office Staff on September 2 and three basic types of Citizens Advisory Committees were discussed:
>
> 1) On-going District-wide Advisory Committee--
>   subcommittees are assigned to areas of need.
> 2) Special Projects Citizens Committee--
>   district-wide committee are formed to meet specific needs, i.e. housing, discipline, etc.
> 3) Citizens Advisory Committees--
>   committees are formed to promote citizen input to the Board of Education. These committees are local in nature but have provisions for two-way communications between citizens and the Board of Education.
>
> Mr. Eastland said after a lengthy discussion, it was felt that parents are more likely to be interested in their local school problems than in District-wide problems. Therefore, it would be better to start at the local level with Citizens Committees in each of our twelve schools. These committees should have representation from school parent groups, other parents in the school, non-public school parents, and those without any school age children. No person interested in serving would be excluded.

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[27] Reeves, Tuley (Chairman), and LeDuc were appointed that same evening to the Board Salary Discussion Team for the 1975-76 year. Hence, the duties were split.

MILFORD'S LOCAL SCHOOL ADVISORY COMMITTEES:

Assumptions:

1. Participation of patrons will be greater at local school meetings than at District level meetings.
2. Local advisory committees will provide the Board with input from patrons on ways to improve the District.
3. Local meeting summaries will serve to identify problems and provide potential solutions.
4. Local advisory committees will provide direction on the possible formation of other types of advisory groups.

Goals:

1. To provide an opportunity for school patrons to discuss local and District school problems.
2. To increase the understanding of patrons on matters relating to the operation of the school and of the District.
3. To provide a procedure for two-way communication between the Board of Education and patrons of the District.
4. To promote citizen input to the Board of Education.
5. To provide basic information on the need for other advisory type programs.

Method of Implementation:

1. Each of the Districts twelve schools shall have an advisory committee.
2. Requests by patrons to participate on local advisory committees will be honored. Each committee should have representation from parent groups, other parents in the school, non-public school parents, and non-parents. Principals are to make efforts to insure the various groups mentioned above are members of the committee. The local school principal and two teachers will be permanent members of the committee.
3. A chairman, recorder, and two members to represent the local committee at District-wide meetings, shall be elected at the September meeting.
4. The recorder shall submit to the Superintendent a copy of the minutes of each meeting. A compilation of the minutes from the twelve committees will be presented to the Board at the regular meeting on the second Tuesday of each month. The Superintendent shall be responsible for transmitting data from the Board to the local committee.
5. The tentative schedule for implementation includes:

September 9	Board meeting report
September 12	Flyer
September 17	Article
September 19	Deadline for returns
September 22-30	Local meetings
October	Local meetings
November	General meeting

Figure 37: Report Establishing Local Citizens Committees

Mr. Eastland said it was felt that the outcomes of the local citizens committees could answer the question of whether a District-wide committee was needed. Mr. Eastland said it was felt the local school principal and two teachers will be permanent members of the committee and a chairman, recorder, and two members to represent the local committee at District-wide meetings. However, Mr. Eastland said if the entire committee wanted to attend the District-wide meeting, that would be alright also.

Mr. Eastland said it was discussed that flyers be sent out as well as news articles in local papers, letters, and any way possible to make every effort to see that all patrons are invited to participate in these committees. He said he felt the Board's subcommittee signatures should be on the letters and flyers.

Mrs. LeDuc said that she had understood from the Board, the Citizens Advisory Committee had not worked before because there was not enough interest in attending meetings and now they were talking of thirteen meetings instead of one. President Reeves said previously there had been special areas and he said the average person is not as interested in what is going on District-wide as he is in his own area.

Dr. George said it was set up before as a District-wide committee and there wasn't enough interest and this time they thought they would go the other way and start it at the local level.

President Reeves said it is possible that more interest could be generated among people in their own school. He said with general interest at the local level and by getting them involved they may find their problems are not unique and the District has problems as a whole.

Mrs. LeDuc said that not all teachers and principals live in the District and also, if she were a parent in a group, she would be hesitant to say anything before a teacher or a principal. Also, she asked why a principal should be on the committee and President Reeves said if they should have questions and no one in the group could answer them they would have to bring it back to the next meeting. Mrs. LeDuc said she felt this would generate interest and they could do their own research and a committee could be put in charge of finding out these answers.

President Reeves said he felt that everyone had a stake in this--the parents, citizens, and employees of the District and he did not think anyone should be excluded and this included the principals and teachers who wanted to participate in this committee.

> After further discussion it was the consenous of the majority of the Board that the Citizens Advisory Committee be implemented on the local level as a beginning under the guidelines presented by the Board Committee (9/9/75)

In reading through the report and the minutes several items, inferences and hypotheses seem important:

1) The Board seems responsive to local patron interest and initiative.
2) Controversy remains over the concept of "local"; this time school by school versus the district as a whole.
3) Committees almost always, and true in this instance, had some kind of administrative involvement. One might infer both legitimate help and/or keeping the committee from straying too far afield.
4) While representatives were selected to facilitate reporting back, the Board seemed always to welcome everyone if they wanted to attend.
5) A variety of reasonably standard gambits were tried for publicity and invitations to attend and to participate.
6) Historical references appeared, "last time..." as part of the pro's and con's of alternatives.
7) Minority opinions (Mrs. LeDuc's) were presented but convincing one's peers is not easy, and in this instance did not occur.

The committees met in October at each school and submitted minutes of the meetings. The major result was small attendance, from three or four patrons to a dozen, averaging four or five. Among the citizens were some current and past Board members. Substantively the biggest recurring issue was apathy. Issues raised were taxes, levies, curriculum, discipline, programs for gifted, statewide tests, crossing guards, etc. In only one instance was "human relations" raised.

In June, 1976, the various Citizen Advisory Subcommittees reported. The "Apathy Committee" reported a need for budget for publicity and a student handbook and that student projects be displayed in the District shopping centers. The Curriculum Committee urged greater parent involvement in counseling and program selection and that volunteer outside specialists be brought into the schools. The Discipline Committee recommended student ID cards to be worn on outside clothing, that unused classrooms be locked, that a human relations program be established, and a trial period for a smoking area be instituted, and that uniformity in discipline be stressed. The Board took the issues up one by one.

The Citizen Subcommittee on Discipline spent a day at the Senior High talking with teachers doing their prep periods about "their main discipline problems." The recurring items were: 1) marijuana, use, selling, and what to do about it; 2) class size; 3) differences in discipline among various buildings; and 4) need for ID badges.

A year later, in April of 1977, the Discipline Committee reported on "15 meetings" with Administrators and teachers in the Junior and Senior High Schools to:

> ...listen and see what they had to say about discipline--good or bad and no attempt was made to influence their report. (4/26/77)

Figure 38 contains the concerns.

Insert Figure 38 About Here

The Committee was still working with the Junior High and Elementary School administration and staff.

Administrative Concerns

1. lack of respect for authority
2. smoking
3. marijuana

Senior High Teacher's Concerns

1. student identification
2. teacher feedback on discipline referrals
3. need of a central discipline authority
4. smaller class size in basic courses
5. absenteeism
6. fence put up
7. security personnel

Figure 38: Concerns Elicited by Discipline Subcommittee

The "drug problem" was being handled with a letter to parents regarding the drug problem and the:

> ...disciplinary measures that would be taken if a student was found to use, possess or sell a controlled substance.
> (4/20/77)

Community meetings had been held on:

> Drug abuse (with the Office of Drug Abuse Prevention)
> Medical and legal aspects of drug abuse

The committee recommended that any student who had been suspended for a semester for drug use, transfer, or possession be required to have a minimum of five counseling sessions with an approved counselor before "he" can return to school. The Board moved and unanimously approved the recommendation.

The Curriculum Subcommittee raised the idea of "resource volunteer" citizens with special knowledge and expertise who might be helpful for curriculum enrichment, models, and awareness. In addition, the benefits of citizen "ownership of schools", senior citizen activity and school-community relations seemed also present.

The Discipline Subcommittee continued its work with a gradual changeover of patron incumbents. Community meetings continued to be held, topics such as "Juvenile Alcoholism" and the need for "District-wide guidelines on disciplinary rules and regulations" was raised with key administrators, meetings were held with bus drivers regarding "difficult runs" and "chronic offenders." (6/13/77)

In brief, during the period of population shifts and the rise of what the Board saw as major and serious disciplinary problems, a committee of Board members, citizens, and administrators were looking among themselves and to each other for definitions and solutions of problems. As we will see shortly, the Board had its own internal problems during this period. Because the central administration was aligned with one faction it too had problems. In these circumstances, the District, the schools, and the classrooms might also be viewed as having their problems. Our account of the Kensington School in Volumes III and IV, the History and Ethnography of Kensington will present some of those images at the school and classroom level.

The Reactivation of the Housing Committee

In response to the differential population shifts, the Housing Committee was reactivated in 1976-77. Kensington and Johnson Schools had picked up an extra room of pupils. Fifteen plans had been proposed by the Committee. Plan 11A was recommended: students from Kensington (23 to Field and 65 to Midvale) and 103 from Johnson to McBride. The former are now being bussed and would continue to be. The latter are now being bussed and would now be able to walk.

On May 26th, 1977, after considerable discussion and fact finding over a possible foot bridge across a drainage ditch, the Board voted for Plan 11A. The property in the Elmville community would have permitted children to walk to their neighborhood school. But the property was privately owned and its donation to the county would take time, probably several years. Eighty-eight students from Kensington would be distributed, 23 to Field and 65 from Kennerly Heights to Midvale. The motion carried unanimously.

Attentance areas and balance of pupil numbers remained a problem into 1979-80. The Board's procedures are caught in the brief minute:

> After a presentation by the Administration and a discussion of the recommendation, Mr. Reeves moved that seventeen (17) students be moved from the Johnson Elementary School to the McBride Elementary School. Mr. Tolman seconded the motion and it carried unanimously.

Later in the meeting, a representative of parents from another nearby subdivision wanted the Board to permit their children to be transferred. The stated grounds were safety in crossing a busy thoroughfare. The implicit grounds seemed racial:

> Mr. Falone said many parents were moving rather than send their children to Johnson School and asked that the Board reconsider letting these children go to McBride School.

At the time, Johnson School was 90% Black and McBride was 25% Black. The Board listened but took no action.

The second meeting in January, 1980, was not atypical, it lasted from 8:00 P.M. to 12:18 A.M. The Board was invited to a retirement tea honoring one of the secretaries at the Williams School. In the Patrons Participation time, seven parents spoke to the issues involving the Housing Committee and possible boundary changes. Several wanted parental participation on the Committee, two were concerned about the quality of education, one about overcrowding at the Field School (a floating teacher had been added) and one was concerned about children having to go out of their subdivision.

"Housing", which pupils go to which school, is a never ending problem in a school district. As we have indicated elsewhere, the nature and intensity of the problem shifts from year to year and period to period. In the post World War II years, the population boom with its "new school every year" as the dominant issue, became the defining criterion for the period. Now in the 1975-to the present period, the declining and shifting enrollments with its school closings and redrawing of boundaries dominate almost to becoming the defining criterion of the period. In 1975, as we reported, the Board closed two elementary schools, in 1979, an additional elementary school would be closed. In 1982, the Old Junior High School would be closed. The New Junior High would become a 7th and 8th grade center serving the entire District and the Milford Senior High School would become, once again, a four year school with grades 9-12.

While aspects of the story will continue to appear at several points, a few summary observations and interpretations seem warranted here. First, the problem is phrased as a technical problem rather than a political problem. Second, the Committee is staffed entirely by administrators, the Superintendent, the Assistant Superintendent for Elementary were exofficio and five principals with one principal chairing the group, were the regular members. Together these two events prevented, for better or worse, the opening for public participation and involvement the issues surrounding the changing racial composition of one side of the District and the reconsideration of the concept of neighborhood school in the light of the population changes.

The Introduction to the Housing Committee's report captures the basis and the tenor of our observations and interpretations:

> In September of 1976, in response to unforeseen and unpredictable enrollment changes at various schools in the District, the Elementary Housing Committee was reactivated.
>
> The primary reason for the reactivation of the Elementary Housing Committee was the influx of students at two of the district schools, Kensington and Johnson. Although the previous housing committee had done a commendable task in 1973-75, it was impossible at that time to predict the rapid changes that would take place in certain areas of the south side of the district, especially in the 1976-77 school year.[28] In a like manner, it appears almost equally impossible at this time to predict with accuracy changes which may take place in the various areas of the district, especially on the south side. However, relief for the two schools was obviously needed.
>
> After several preliminary discussions regarding the housing of elementary students, desirable programs, necessary facilities, and possible growth areas, it was decided that the Committee should address itself to the immediate problem at hand; that is, the relief of the overcrowded situation at Kensington and Midvale Schools. This relief was to be implemented for the 1977-78 school year. It was also decided to forward information and a recommendation to the Superintendent at the end of March or early April, 1977, so that a recommendation could subsequently be made to the Board.
>
> Information for use by the Committee was gathered from the following sources:
>
> Previous Housing Study
> 1973 Enumeration Census
> Monthly Enrollment Reports
> Elementary Principals

---

[28] One of these was the almost complete changeover of Kennerly Heights from White to Black in a little over a year. A fuller discussion of this part of Kensington's history appears in Volume III.

> Various plans and possibilities for relief at the overcrowded schools were explored. These included:
>
> No changes in any enrollment boundaries
> Changing of boundaries among various schools
> Change by grade level, 1-6
> Kindergarten centers (busing)
> Paired schools (primary and intermediate)
> Middle schools
> Changes by definable areas (apartments, subdivisions, etc.)
>
> After consideration of the various plans and possibilities, it was decided that the Committee would explore the changes of attendance areas necessary among the fewest number of schools possible in order to achieve the proper enrollment level for the areas affected. The basic attendance areas explored were: Kensington, McBride, Midvale, Field, and Johnson.
>
> Presented hereafter are fifteen (15) possible plans for the consideration of the Board of Education. All the plans are feasable but several are more workable than others. The Elementary Housing Committee unanimously recommended Plan A-11 as the most feasible approach. In arriving at these many plans, the enrollment at the various schools as of the first month's attendance for the 1976-77 school year was used as the base line. (4/5/77)

The Board members and administration seemed to feel that consideration of housing as a political issue was a "no win" situation. A number felt a law suit was likely regarding intradistrict racial balances, for the schools varied from almost 100% White to almost 100% Black. Such a legal definition of the problem never occurred.[29]

On April 1, 1980, the Housing Committee reported one more time. Among the items in paraphrased form were these:

> 1) In each of the last seven years the district had lost between 400 and 500 children.

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[29] A Title IX investigation over minority hiring of teachers and administrators did occur. For a three year period, Milford's plans and practices were reviewed. At the close of the period, compliance was indicated.

2) Pupil/Teacher ratios of 25-1 elementary, 26-1 junior high and 27-1 senior high was a given.
3) "...the neighborhood school concept was maintained and attempts were made to reduce transportation expenses."
4) A special board meeting on the issue and three patrons' meetings at three schools, north, central, and south, would be held in the schools. The report would be available at all the Milford schools for patron examination.

The report contained eleven options at the elementary level. Nine involved boundary changes and two involved school changes--Hillside Elementary or Milford Elementary. A five year secondary project called for closing the Old Junior High School and changing from a 6-3-3 structure to a 6-2-4 organization. The need for action was simple--declining enrollments and increasing expenses.

A petition appeared, which is not new to Milford, nor is the fact that it contained a sizable number of signatures, 425 this time. Further, the issues are as old as the District, opening and closing schools with shifts of pupils and impact on the neighborhood. The arguments have a heavy ring as well, although a couple of special elements appear for its Milford Village Elementary School, the oldest of the elementary schools. The petition appears as Figure 39.

Insert Figure 39 About Here

On April 23, 1980, with the new Board in place (re-election by a wide margin of the two incumbents), a unanimous vote occurred on Option V-A. Hillside Elementary would be closed. Boundary changes in Option III-A passed unanimously also. Fifty-three pupils at Field would come to Kensington, 19 pupils at Midvale would to to Johnson.

We the people of Milford School District express our disapproval of closing Milford Village Elementary School at 8759 Pearl Drive for these reasons:

1. Milford Village is the only school in the Village (Edinburg has two). What about our neighborhood school?
2. It would take three buses if Milford Village School closes, only one if Hillside closes (additional expense).
3. Hillside would be easier to rent than Milford Village because it is a one-story building.
4. Hillside would be better for adult education classes because most adults drive and there is more parking space at Hillside.
5. Property values would decrease because of no neighborhood schools.
6. Milford Village Elementary was the first elementary school in the district.

Figure 39: Milford Village Elementary School Petition
(425 signatures)

Conclusion

Very quietly, the systemic perspective we have taken has arisen. The Milford community and its demographic characteristics and changes moves us into the arena of the Board. The Board's committees take on lives of their own, but only partially so, for quickly the central administration and its longer reach, the elementary principals are involved.

It's the fascinating "Board story" to which we turn now. As always, also, it's possible to talk about it in a self-contained way, which gives a focus, but it's equally obvious that its intertwined with other actors, groups, events, and serials.

9.3 The Changing School Board

One of the most remarkable aspects of Milford, in our view, is that it is not under anyone's "control", at least in any simple sense. The long history and final decision of Superintendent McBride, his conflict with several principals and several strong Board members seems to illustrate that, as we indicated in Volume I, Chronicling the Milford School District. The shorter tenure of Dr. Spanman carries a similar moral. Now, in 1974-75 and almost ten years into Dr. George's incumbency as Superintendent, a new name, that of Mrs. LeDuc, enters the record. In the Autumn she was part of the "Concerned Parents" group trying to keep the Grant School open. She had helped solicit the 2,000 signatures on the petition. In February, her name appeared a second time, in a letter announcing her candidacy for one of the Board of Education positions. On the same evening her name appeared for the third time:

> Mrs. LeDuc who had filed as a candidate for the Board asked if the Board had any response to the "Open Letter" to the Patrons and the Board from the Milford NEA which was in their publication "Accent" and would be in the local News. (2/11/75)

The Superintendent asked her if she had a copy. She said she did. He indicated a letter had been sent out. Only a little hindsight is needed to suggest that a faction of the concerned if not dissident community patrons might be aligning with a faction of the dissident teaching staff.

In April, 1975, she won election to the Board by a wide margin. In the next two years, her story will intertwine with the stories of two other individuals and become the story at the district level.

A further quality comes into the Citizen-Board-Administration interaction which suggests the political/personal/educational interests and issues at odds. In August, 1975, another new name enters the record during the Patrons Participation part of the meeting:

> Mrs. Hilda Ostermann asked Dr. Eastman (Assistant Superintendent) if he had up-to-date figures on the assessed valuation of the District. When told that he did not, she asked if they would like the figure which she had secured from the County Assessors Office and when she was told yes, she reported that the assessed valuation of personal property for the School District for 1975-76 would be $15,897,510. Dr. Eastman responded that this was only part of the total assessed valuation and asked Mrs. Ostermann if she had figures on real estate, railroad and utilities, and merchants and manufacturers. Mrs. Ostermann said she did not. It was pointed out to her that the total assessed valuation projected for next year was $109,000,000 and that personal property valuation only made up a part of that total amount.
>
> In response to Mrs. Ostermann's statement that the district might have more money than they thought they would, Dr. Eastman pointed out that the District lost $800,000 in assessed valuation from October to December 1974. Therefore, it is difficult to indicate what the assessed valuation will be in 1975. (8/26/75)

Two weeks later, Mrs. Ostermann was back asking further questions about finances--paying bills before approval (for utilities), charges for use of school gymnasiums, and insurance. The insurance minute seems revealing:

> Mrs. Ostermann said she understood that part of the District's insurance coverage was dropped and was this because the District was a bad risk. President Reeves said apparently the insurance company felt they could not make a profit but did not mean we were a bad risk. (9/9/75)

One doesn't get the feeling that there was much love lost here. A few minutes later, Mrs. Ostermann and Mr. Reeves were involved in another exchange which was recorded this way:

> Mrs. Ostermann asked if a patron had a question regarding something in the Agenda and during Patrons Portion asked to be heard later in the meeting, and could they be heard. President Reeves said the Board would be happy to answer their questions during this open part of the meeting. He said normally the business portion of the meeting is not open to the audience unless there would be something that generated a lot of interest. (9/9/75)

These kinds of interactions, challenges if you like, continued on through the Autumn.

In mid Winter, Mrs. Ostermann submitted her name for the April Board elections. In April, 1976, in a six person race with two incumbents she came in second and became a member of the Milford Board of Education. The 5-1 Board had now become a 4-2 Board.

One of the dramatic aspects of the changing composition of the Board was the interpenetration and conversion of the Board versus teacher activism conflict into an intra Board conflict. A long interchange in the minutes in November, 1975, after Mrs. LeDuc's election but before Mrs. Ostermann's, contained these excerpted and paraphrased items:

1) The Milford NEA was asking if money for raises could be found since State Aid had not materialized.
2) "President Reeves said the eight points were discussed at the salary committee and there was nothing new..."
3) Mr. Eastland said there was one obvious place to get money and that was to go into balances and how far can you go into balances...gambling...

Then, significantly:

4) "In response to Mrs. LeDuc's question as to whether a token raise of $100 couldn't be offered, President Reeves said for every $100 it would cost the District $70,000 and Dr. George said you would have to have money to meet the retirement costs and this would have to come out of the incidental fund.

Mrs. LeDuc then asked about the elimination of some programs. In rapid fire order:

5) Dr. George indicated Milford NEA had been asked by the Board about eliminating personnel but received no answer.
6) Dr. George indicated supplies had already been cut.
7) Assistant Superintendent, Dr. Eastman, indicated $18,000,000 of buildings had to be maintained.

Mrs. LeDuc said "if we tighten our belts and go on an austerity campaign perhaps it could be done." She was instructed once again:

8) Mr. Tuley said that the District was already on an austerity program.
9) Assistant Superintendent, Dr. Eastman said the District had been on the same levy for five years.
10) Mr. Reeves argued a tax increase was the only way. But this was caught in public sentiment over closing schools, etc.

Mrs. LeDuc came back one more time regarding "better use of our money." A Board member came back at her with:

> 11) The District is third from the bottom in assessed valuation and fourth from the top in salaries; better than its "sister district."

So, the Board majority and administration "instructed" its new and dissident member.

But Mrs. LeDuc was neither docile nor easily deterred. She was the one on a 5-1 vote to rehire all administrators on two-year contracts. The no vote concerned declining enrollments, declining teaching staffs and no reduction in administration staff: "...it will not look good to the public." She could not convince her colleagues. She also was the only Board member to vote no on a new three-year contract for Superintendent George. No reason appeared in the minutes. Around the Central Office, the view was that "she was out to get him."

The Board continued all through 1975-76 with long involved discussions internally and with the teacher salary team regarding pay raises, budgeting and an increase in the tax levy.

In June, 1976, after Mr. Wells resignation the Board received two applications, one from Mr. Galper, the recently defeated incumbent, and one from Mrs. Nash. On a 3-2 vote, Mr. Galper returned to the Board. While the "iron law of oligarchy" was eroding, efforts were being made to refurbish it. This interactional episode briefly but baldly indicates the workings of the social mechanisms underlying the principle.

In January, 1977, two individuals filed for the April election to the Board:

Mr. Reeves
Mrs. Saenger

Several other candidates filed shortly thereafter.

In February, on two votes to rehire all the principals on new two-year contracts and the Superintendent on a new three-year contract, the Board split 4-2. Mesdames LeDuc and Ostermann dissenting. The meeting adjourned at 2:05 A.M.

On April 5th, 1977, Mr. Reeves (4,807) and Mrs. Saenger (4,348) were elected. Mr. Fern was a close third (4,201). The Board was now split between three male "old guard" members and three woman "progressives". Superintendent George and the Central Office Staff continued to support and be supported by the three male, old guard members of the Board. The stage was set for a series of battles.

Those battles began four days later in special session on Saturday, April 9, at 8:00 A.M. when the Board began to organize itself through the election of officers. Mrs. Ostermann nominated Mrs. LeDuc for President. Mr. Eastland nominated Mr. Reeves. A secret ballot left the votes tied 3-3. The Board voted a second time, no change. Dr. George, who was chairing the meeting at the suggestion of Mr. Reeves, declared a ten minute recess for members to caucus and break the tie. After the recess, Mrs. Ostermann again nominated Mrs. LeDuc. Mr. Reeves withdrew his name and nominated Mr. Tuley.[30] Another secret ballot was taken.

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[30] In earlier years, this ploy worked when both nominees withdrew and the factions, less severely in conflict could agree on a third party.

The tie, 3-3, vote remained. The Board requested Dr. George to contact the President of the Suburban County Board of Education to come and "break the tie vote." The Board recessed at 8:33 A.M. A short meeting.

A week later, Friday evening, April 25 at 7:30, a similar series of votes occurred and the County Board President voted. Mrs. LeDuc won 4-3 over Mr. Tuley. Mr. Tuley became Vice President by acclamation when Mrs. Ostermann refused the nomination placee by Mr. Tuley. The Secretary position was contested between the faction in the names of Mr. Eastland and Mrs. Ostermann. The vote went 4-3 for Mr. Eastland. Apparently the County Board President distributed the power. Next, Mr. Eastland nominated Mrs. Ostermann for Treasurer:

> There being no further nominations, Mr. Reeves moved that Mrs. Ostermann be declared Treasurer of the Board by acclamation. Mr. Tuley seconded the motion and it carried unanimously.
>
> The Board thanked Mr. Earle, the County Board President for coming the long distance to work with the Board. (4/15/77)

The meeting adjourned at 7:42 P.M. A record for brevity.

The subsequent meetings are a mix of the "new three" (our label) programing items, the "old three" instructing them on the whys and wherefores of Board rules, regulations and constraints. For example, at a special session for discussion of a possible bond issue that it was not possible to vote on having an "internal audit" at this meeting but it could go on the agenda of the next "regular meeting." In addition, the minutes contained 3-3 votes on an October Bond issue versus a May Bond issue.

Board policy, and the racial issues we have called "the American Dilemma" became entangled in the inexperience of the "new three" and the infighting within the Board. The following appeared in the regular meeting of April 26, 1977:

> In response to President LeDuc's question as to whether there were any additions or corrections on the Agenda, Mrs. Saenger said the statement in Agenda Item XII--Integration of the District, stating she would have a presentation to make was in error and that no names should be put on an agenda item. Mrs. Ostermann said she did not have any presentation but did have some questions. Mr. Tuley said if a request is made for an item to be put on the agenda the name should be on it.
>
> Mr. Eastland said Board Policy No. 9230 stated the secretary will prepare the Agenda with the assistance of the Superintendent and with the President's advice. He said he thought all items that are to go in the Agenda should be given to him to clear. He said he and the Superintendent make up the Agenda and the President can advise them. He said to tell the Superintendent to put all these itmes on the Agenda is not according to Board Policy and there was no way all these items could be handled in one meeting, particularly a business meeting.
>
> President LeDuc said she had told Dr. George that Mrs. Saenger had asked for this to be on the Agenda but did not tell him she had a presentation.
>
> Mr. Eastland said he felt anything of this importance should be studied and discussed by the Board before it was made public as *this item had caused pandemonium with rumors flying through the District*. (Our Italics)
>
> After further discussion, it was agreed that this item be removed from the Agenda. (4/26/77)

During the Patrons Participation, three citizens, two women and one man:

> ...spoke to the Board in regard to Agenda Item XII--Integration of the District, strongly voiced their objections to the fact that this had been brought to the public's attention and any idea of busing children to achieve integration. (4/26/77)

The complexities of social change when reform oriented, but inexperienced Board newcomers are up against highly experienced, wily conservative Board members in a community where conservative, especially on issues of race, budget, and educational basics, is not a dirty word but a mark of approbation is an image we continue to ty to make clear.

Although most of the routine business went along 6-0, a few items were 4-2 with Mrs. Saenger splitting off from "the ladies." The "progressive" label seems to fit the group. The 3-3 votes in May involved 1) support of students who wanted a smoking area at the High School and 2) support of the teachers, in this instance the removal of a letter of reprimand in a teacher's file for a comment to a parent that the parent "could not get a fair hearing from the Board." Liberalization of student rules and increasing the power of the teachers vis a vis Board and Administration were long term battles in Milford.

But in Milford, there are teachers and there are teachers. The teachers also split on a liberal-conservative dimension. "The ladies" or one of them, the Board President, Mrs. LeDuc, got caught in turmoil while siding with one group to the consternation of the other group. Similarly, the patrons are split, although we have argued that the community at large tends toward the conservative. Mrs. LeDuc got caught here as well. Finally, from a political perspective, she made a serious tactical error in knowingly commenting negatively about the Milford Schools to a newspaper editor. Much of this was aired in the June 14th, 1977, Board meeting. Several key minutes capture the flavor of the multiple divisions.

One group of teachers, under the impetus of Bill Perry, the teacher chairman of the Milford NEA Salary and Welfare committee continued to argue for the Board to negotiate with the teachers:

> ...the Board's present position to be an anachronism and to pursue such a course would do no more than create an anamorphosis. (6/14/77)

Distorted images, in part, lie in the eyes of the multiple beholders, so we would argue. Almost in response to our generalization, a second group of teachers entered a different perspective.

The second letter came from the principal and teachers (18 signatures) of the Midvale Elementary School:

> Mr. Eastland read a letter from the faculty of the Midvale School. The letter stated that they contend that Mrs. LeDuc, President of the Board of Education, had shown total disrespect and a lack of appreciation for the administrative and teaching staff of the School District by her comments in the Village News on June 1, 1977. The letter stated that in their opinion, Mrs. LeDuc had spoken as an unqualified representative of the District and does not portray the factual image of their professional services. The letter stated it was their utmost desire that she realign her actions in a more professional manner and allow more qualified spokesmen (sic) from the Board of Education or the Administrative staff to present factual District information. The letter asked a number of questions of Mrs. LeDuc: If Mrs. LeDuc contended she was there to serve various public groups' views then why reflect views that appear to be her own to the press; What evidence did she have to reflect discredit to the School District administration by implying dishonesty when every encumbrance for payment must be approved by the Board; How could she generalize about teacher absenteeism; Asked that she clarify "swift imaginative action"; The comment implying the need for alternative educational programs, did this not imply she wanted to expand programs rather than consolidate or enforce the present programs; As a "para legal" how could she endorse a smoking area; Was she aware there has been a remedial reading program in the elementary schools for the past five years; And that they felt her statement about programs that are selected to make the work easier for the teachers, not to educate the children was unwarranted. (6/14/77)

The two-page, single-space letter itself was more detailed, specific, and full of emotional outrage. In Milford, the airing of dirty linen, at best, is a complicated and subtle process conditioned by time, place, and circumstance. As the Board President and the leader of the teachers' faction in internal Board disputes, she found herself in a most precarious position with a group of elementary teachers and their principal.

Not only did the faculty of one school write in. The "other" teacher organization, generally viewed as the more conservative group, has a letterhead, "Midwest STA...the professional way." The Board minutes abbreviated their three paragraph letter into one paragraph:

> Mr. Eastland read a letter to President LeDuc from Dr. Jonas Wales,[31] President of the Milford CTA. Dr. Wales said the executive Board would like to express their disappointment with Mrs. LeDuc's recent interview published in the Village News. His letter stated that there seemed to be nothing positive in her views of the Milford School District and the comments were untimely and inappropriate as the same issue carried the advertisement supporting a bond issue sorely needed at this time. Dr. Wales' letter said they felt her letter had neither served the best interest of the School District nor the best interest of the students. (6/14/77)

A reporter from the Village News answered questions and indicated that the paper would not print a retraction because it was a fair and accurate presentation of Mrs. LeDuc's stated views.

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[31] Two years later, Dr. Wales, a junior high school math teacher, will become principal of the Kensington Elementary School upon the early retirement of Mr. Hawkins. Some would argue that choosing sides, taking a stand, or having a clear professional position does make a difference.

That same evening, other parents were writing and commenting on upgrading the tennis program at the High School and petitioning (26 signatures) the Board not to permit smoking on school property. The issues come rapidly, don't stop, and make a variegated package.

The "outside study gambit" reappeared in the Milford Board meetings in the early Summer of 1977. Essentially this involves bringing some outside group to look into District affairs. Our report of the early history of Milford indicates this was an important tactic used by Board Presidents in fights with Mr. McBride, an earlier superintendent. In the present instance, the initial thrust was for an "internal audit." This was enlarged to an "Educational Management Study" and then expanded to include "all paid employees of the School District." The final vote was to secure competitive bids from at least two other firms ($10,000 was the preliminary estimate) and not at this time to actually have the Study. That vote was to come later. The discussion was long and the meeting adjourned at 12:50 A.M.

The issue carried over into the June 28th, 1977, meeting. More letters and more arguments pro and con on Mrs. LeDuc's actions and the behavior of the patrons at the previous meeting were heard. Mr. Earle, President of the County Board of Education, voted "no" on the motion to have a trial smoking area at the High School.[32] He indicated he could not vote on the letter in the teacher's file because the parent had not been asked to a hearing and he (Mr. Earle) could not vote on "hearsay."

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[32] That vote settled the issue to the present day. Milford High does not have a smoking area.

The third vote, on the Educational Management Study, was disallowed because it had not yet come up for a formal vote-- only a 4-2 vote to have bids. The twenty-three item agenda meeting lasted until 3:20 A.M. Physical stamina joins experience and wily maneuvering as requisites for Board members during periods of sharp and evenly divided political and educational conflict of interests and perspectives.

Three months later, September 13, 1977, the Board voted 3-2 (Mr. Tuley was absent) to let a $13,000 contract for the Educational Management Study. The motion failed because State Law requires a majority of the total Board for letting contracts. Patrons spoke pro and con on whether it was needed or was a waste. A month later, a Mother's Circle Council letter was read. They unanimously disapproved of spending the money for the study. The Council involves representatives from Mother's Circles at all the schools. In Milford, and probably in most districts, when one speaks of "grass root opinion", one cannot get more basic than this.

Also that Autumn, Mrs. LeDuc voted no on a 5-1 split regarding a bond issue. She rejected the urging of her "lady" Board colleagues and the citizen chairman of the bond campaign to make it unanimous. (10/11/77)

In November, 1977, the tie vote on the Board representative to the Salary Discussions was broken by Mr. Earle, County Board President. He supported Mr. Gillespie, Assistant Superintendent of Elementary instead of Dr. Eastman, Assistant Superintendent of Secondary. The former was the choice of the Superintendent, backed by the three male members of the Board.

On the same evening, shortly after this tie vote on the Salary Representative, the assault on the District Policy and its control by "the ladies" or "the progressives", or the "new reformers" was all over. The minutes read this way:

> Mr. Eastland (Board Secretary) read a letter to the Board from Mrs. Saenger. Mrs. Saenger said she was submitting her resignation as a director and member of the Board of Education as of the close of the November 8, 1977, meeting because she would be moving from the District and would no longer be able to serve in this capacity. She said she deeply regreted that she could not fulfill her three year term. Mrs. Saenger said this had been a unique experience for her and she was proud to have served the School District in this capacity. Mrs. Saenger extended her best wishes to the Board in their future endeavors.
>
> President LeDuc told Mrs. Saenger that it was with deep regret that her resignation was accepted. (11/8/77)

That finished this most recent phase of conflict in the Milford School District.

It seems helpful to summarize the issues which went to 3-3 votes in the District between April 9th and October 11th, 1977. Figure 40 contains these.

Insert Figure 40 About Here

President	April 9, 1977
Secretary	April 9, 1977
Smoking area in high school	May 24, 1977
Letter of reprimand in teacher's file	May 24, 1977
Letter of reprimand but without "breach of contract" phrase	May 24, 1977
Resume Salary Discussions with NEA Salary and Welfare Committee	June 14, 1977
Smoking in high school	June 14, 1977
Dr. Eastman as Board Representative to Salary Discussions	October 11, 1977
Mr. Gillespie and Mr. Ritter as Board Representatives to Salary Discussions	October 11, 1977

Figure 40: Tie Votes in the 1977 Board Minutes

In sum, the issues were over control of the Board, relations with the teachers groups, and more liberal student rules.

Almost by way of summary, we have tried to capture the events surrounding the Board's "return to normalcy" in pictorial form, Figure 41.

Insert Figure 41 About Here

In real life, stories always have epilogues. Such is the case of our split vote. The vote on replacing Mrs. Saenger split on the same lines, 3-2. Late Winter and early Spring was full of 4-2 votes--pay raises for teachers, resolutions of extra duty pay, accepting NEA teacher package on salary grievance policy, and RIF policy.

Purchase of a computerized accounting equipment system, and software were 4-2 also. Dates for making up Snow Days were in contention. February 20th became a regular school day, 4-2, as did three days originally scheduled for "Easter Vacation" (March 29, 30, and 31). Extensions of administrator contracts for two and three years were approved, 4-2. And finally, no Board member was to go to the school lawyer without Board approval or through the Superintendent's office; again the vote was 4-2. Eighteen teachers were placed on leave of absence with 4-2 votes.

In April, 1978, the denouement continued--by another third, Mr. Tuley won re-election with 2,715 votes. Mrs. LeDuc lost to Mr. Tolman by 14 votes, 2,387 to 2,373. Mr. Fern beat Mr. Heinrich for a two year term, 3,021 to 1,755. Mrs. Ostermann now was a lone dissenter in a number of subsequent votes in the late Spring of 1978.

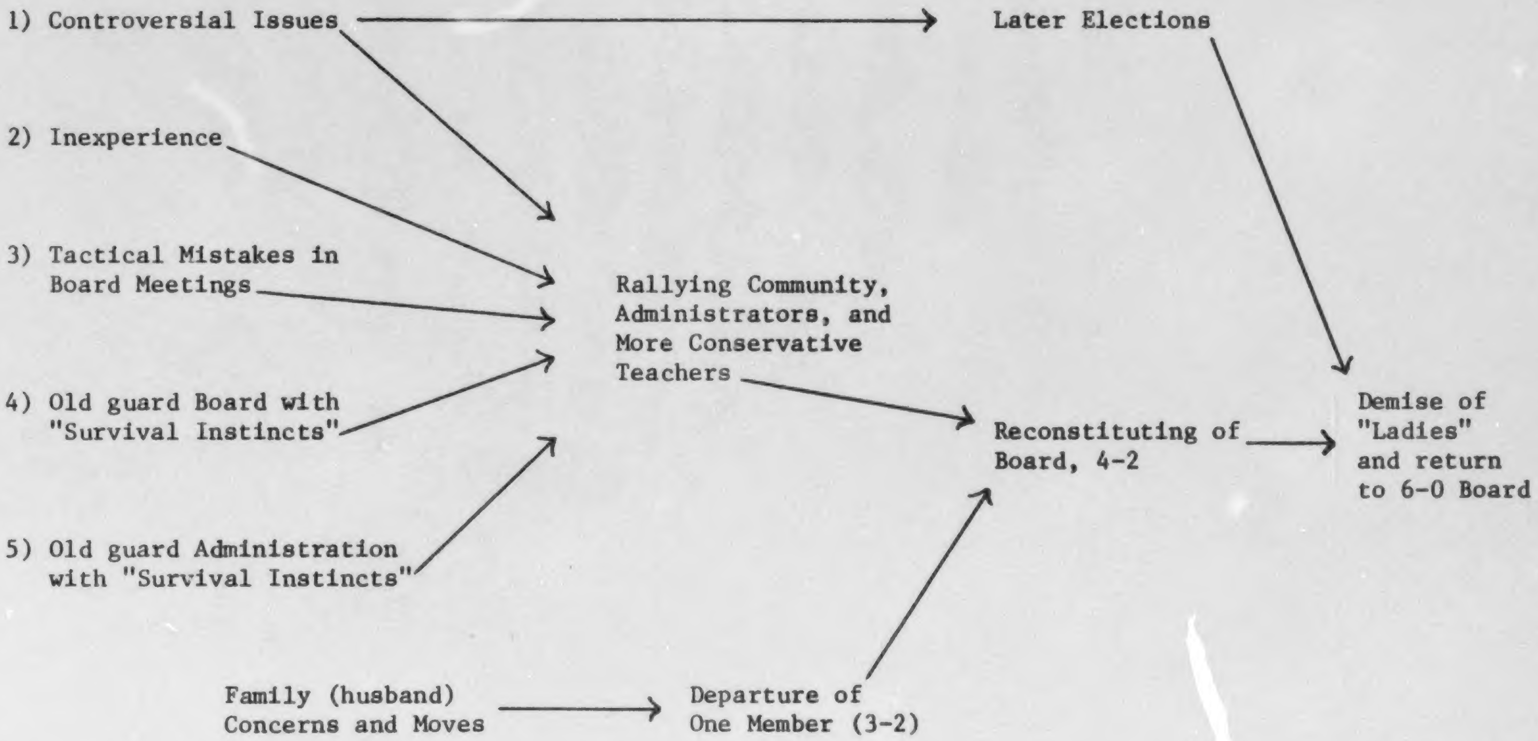
1) Controversial Issues
Later Elections
2) Inexperience
3) Tactical Mistakes in Board Meetings
Rallying Community, Administrators, and More Conservative Teachers
4) Old guard Board with "Survival Instincts"
Reconstituting of Board, 4-2
Demise of "Ladies" and return to 6-0 Board
5) Old guard Administration with "Survival Instincts"
Family (husband) Concerns and Moves
Departure of One Member (3-2)

Figure 41: Dynamics of Board's Return to "Normalcy" (1977)

The degree of heat in the interpersonal relations between Board members doesn't wane easily and readily. Mrs. LeDuc spoke as a patron at the April 25th meeting after her failure to win at the polls:

> Mrs. LeDuc spoke to the Board in regard to the family that took their children out of school because of poor education, the incompetency of administrators, accused Dr. George of lying to the Board, and accused Mrs. Sandran, teacher at Williams School, of harassing and pumping her son on personal family matters and that several parents have had trouble with her for years. (4/25/78)

But her day, for better or worse for the Milford District, was over. And so was the "progressive" or "reform" movement.[33] Later ripples, cutting across the conservative tide, will appear in stories we have attached to other themes. But Milford remains firmly, and in the eyes of Board and Administration, openly and proudly conservative in these generally turbulent times.

9.4 The Continuing Themes

Throughout this monograph we have moved back and forth among several ways to organize our data and ideas on education in Milford. Sometimes we opted for a general integrated story, sometimes we highlighted a particular set of events into a theme when the data seemed to fall easily that way, and sometimes with an eye focused on events related to Kensington and its fifteen year history, we have pursued recurrent, or what we have called "continuing", themes. In this final chapter on Milford we return to "the apogee of teacher activism", "governmental programs", conditions of schooling, curriculum and student affairs.

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[33] Mrs. Ostermann lost her seat the following year.

Governmental Programs and Policies

One of our themes in the Milford Chronicle has been the increasing involvement of the Federal government in local school district affairs. One of the early surprises concerned the Milford's early involvement, an active solicitation of funds in the 1930's for school buildings and for WPA funds for construction. Superintendent McBride showed considerable skill and success in these ventures. More recently, the Board's expressed ambivalence, negative sentiments about Federal Aid to Education yet when laws were in place and funds were available they sought and received "their fair share."

Miscellaneous Programs and Policies. In the recent Georgian period the national concerns and programs found their way into Milford in the continuation of a number of programs. We mention them merely to keep the record straight. The District continued its participation in the 1976 Summer Youth Job Program which employed 30 students. Also during these years, the Board continued the Federally supported "Free meals, free milk, and reduced price meals program." Procedures, income levels, etc. were specified at great length (6-12 typed pages) by the Federal and State governments (9/76). The District continued to participate in a Federally financed Title IV "School dropout prevention program." One hundred junior high and 200 upper elementary youngsters participated in the program. Attitude, self image, realistic goal setting, and school success were key items. A number of students seemed to fit the agenda. The District approved a Title IVC (the old Title IV Exemplary Program project) application for 90 high school students who were above special education requirements but who had basic skill difficulties. Statewide competition existed for the $1,000,000 allocated to the program. The District continued its Summer Title I Elementary Program "to provide remedial activities for elementary students." Some 600 pupils, public and parochial, would be served with the $86,773.00 dollars. The Board approved District participation in Title VI Public Service Employment Program. Ten adults would be hired.

PL94-142 continued to work its way into the Milford Schools. "Project Child Check", locating three and four year old handicapped youngsters was under discussion in February of 1978. Empty classrooms and closed schools were rented to the Metropolitan Exceptional Children's Program throughout these years. These facilities saved the special education program considerable monies in building costs and they provided rental income on closed school buildings which were very difficult to convert for other purposes.

Governmental Regulation and Judgment. Although all federal programs have rules and regulations and their corollaries, long forms to be filled out and filed, in recent years various offices with inspecting and judging powers have arrived. In the late 1970's, Milford was involved with various issues in equal opportunity. In June, 1976, the Board discussed at some length and voted to update Policies 4900, 5900, and 5910 to be in compliance with Title IX non discrimination on the basis of a person's race or gender--in various programs and activities--P.E., athletics, counseling, employment. Similarly, a student's actual or potential parental, family, or marital status could not be a criterion. The student grievance policy dealt with:

> ...student complaints alleging discrimination action pertaining to race, color, religion, sex, age, or national origin...

The rules specified a four level procedure--teacher, to principal, to superintendent, to board. The final line of Board sentiment contains several multiple meanings, so it seems:

> Do what you are told to do first--then grieve!

Board policies on faculty maternity leave and compulsory retirement at 65 were suspended "to conform to federal regulations." Personnel practices have become much more highly structured over the years. The Board's powers have been limited drastically. The Federal government now plays a larger part in school affairs.

But the rules were neither all new nor all Federal. For instance, in the August, 1979, meeting, a minute refers to an item that has occurred every year in the records:

> After a discussion of this item, it was the consensus of the Board that the annual inspection of the school buildings be delayed until all the work being done on the buildings is finished. (8/28/79)

The state law requiring annual inspection of "school houses" almost seems an anachronism in this day and age and the increased scope of the physical plant. But a direct on site observation does get each Board member into each building at least once a year. First hand perceptions have their own kind of power.

The State Legislature was active also in passing a bill to abolish the County Boards of Education. Suburban County's Board and Superintendent which had been so helpful in the early years, when Milford and its neighboring districts were rural, three member districts, had withered in recent years in personnel and functions. An annual report was still published. The Milford Board has found this to be beneficial and voted to have it continued.

In February, 1979, the Statewide Basic Skills Test results were reported. This year, the administration of the test, was voluntary and 53% of the Milford eighth graders passed versus 60% of the youngsters statewide. The District used parts of three half days for the teachers in the various departments to review the objectives, the content areas, and the examinations to see where the children were having difficulty. Perhaps most significant was a discussion which interrelates several of our themes and issues:

> Dr. Luther said in response to the question of whether students who began with Milford in the Kindergarten would do better than students who transferred into the District. Sixty-three percent of the students who had been with the District since Kindergarten passed all three tests. Fifty-one percent of the students who transferred to us in the elementary schools passed all tests and only thirty-seven percent of the students who transferred in after grade six passed all three tests. (2/13/79)

The District defends its educational program in varied ways.

The flow of influence from the state to the District to the classroom appeared in another minute from the Basic Skills Test. In the Spring of 1979, 61% passed the three tests, up from 53%:

> Dr. Luther said although the District did not teach the test by drilling on the actual test questions, the teachers had stressed work on the objective of each sub-test, which probably accounted for the better passing percentages of this year. (6/12/79)

The tangled connections among laws, publically visible results, and "objective" test score improvement is mediated by "teacher education" and altered classroom activities.

Federal possibilities also intertwined with the state testing program and new instructional programs. The Board approved two curriculum innovations. The first was a district Title IV-C application for "EASE", an Essential Academic Skills Education program for seventh and eighth graders who were having difficulty in school. The youngsters did not qualify for Special Education programs but they were reading three years below expectancy, had failed three subjects the prior semester, or a 1.0 or less GPA on a scale of 4. This program would involve some parochial students as well. In the second program, five other students, at the high end of the math continuum, were enrolled an hour a day in a special math program which would culminate in 33 hours of college credit six years later. That program had been developed in a Federally supported R&D Center.

The EEOC: The Clash of Federal and Local Interests: is a way of restating the District concerns we have been calling "The American Dilemma", the play of racial issues in our story and interpretation. Further entanglements occur with issues of gender. The changing local community coupled with the changing federal law, executive agencies, and judicial interpretations produced a series of events that the Board and its lawyer mediated:

> Discrimination charges of not hiring Blacks and promoting females have been filed against the School District. Mr. Pierce (the school lawyer) said the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission had proposed a conciliation agreement for the School District to sign which would be in effect for three years. The conciliation agreement states the District agrees to hire one qualified Negro teacher for each two non tenured White teachers hired and promote qualified females on the basis of one female to one male for the term of the agreement. In the discussion with the Board and Administrators, Mr. Pierce said if the Board did not sign this conciliation agreement, it would be referred to Washington and they might file a suit against the District and his advice to the Board was to sign the conciliation agreement because he felt the District would lose the suit. (10/26/76)

The complaint had been filed by one of the Milford teachers several years before. Later that evening the Board voted to go along. Mr. Reeves, Board President, dissented. Two were absent. Affirmative action in the area of sex and race were officially underway.

On August 23, 1977, the Board discussed a letter received from the Office of Civil Rights "alleging discrimination 'over' minority group children received inappropriate disciplinary sanctions due to their race":

> The Board felt that the Office for Civil Rights judged the District guilty before an investigation was held and directed the Superintendent to write letters to the U. S. Senators and Congressmen expressing the feeling of the Board. (8/23/77)

This controversy continued with a series of investigations by Justice Department officials. No formal action was taken.

The issues of race took on a local political quality in the 1979-80 school year. The February, 1980, meetings contain some bite. At 8:01, Tuesday the 12th, it was closing time for applications for the April Director elections. Two candidates filed, Mrs. Lucile Smith and Mrs. Jean Thomas. They were the first Black candidates to file for election to Milford's Board. They represented one elementary school, the Johnson School, now a predominantly Black school. They would develop a series of concerns of Black patrons, an agenda that had received little direct public communication and advocacy in the Milford Schools.

That same meeting, the Board received a letter from 27 patrons from the Johnson School regarding "the issue of rezoning." The first minute of the Patrons' Participation involved three women, including Mrs. Jean Thomas:

> ...in regard to having citizens involved and having an input into the Housing Committee. They were informed by Mr. Reeves that the last time the Housing Committee had presented various options to the Board, meetings were held in various parts of the District so parents could have an opportunity to express their viewpoints. Mr. Reeves said when the Housing Committee presented the various options again, there would be hearings held so patrons could express their views.[34]

The next four items elaborated the contending positions:

> Mrs. Lawrence spoke to the Board in regard to Blacks at the New Junior High School and Old Junior High School and stated she felt 98% of the Blacks in junior high school in the District attended New Junior High School and she felt something should be done.
>
> Mrs. Lucile Smith told the Board she had two children in Johnson and one in New Junior High School and she agreed with Mrs. Lawrence.

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[34] These meetings did occur in three schools' geographical spread over the District.

> Mrs. Susan Harvey told the Board she had six children in the District and she was not interested in what color the students are but interested in quality education.
>
> Mrs. Chippen said she was interested in quality education and everyone she heard tonight was interested in quality education. However, she said it seems when Blacks move in the quality of education goes down and she hopes the quality of education improves. (2/12/80)

At the second regular meeting in February, ten citizens spoke in the Patrons' Participation part of the meeting, mostly regarding housing, racial issues, and the interrelations between the two:

> Mrs. Herschel spoke to the Board in regard to: citizens being on the Housing Committee, why Black history was not included in the schools, that next year New Junior High School would be for seventh and eighth grades only, and that kindergarten was not above the nursery school level.
>
> Mr. Washington spoke to the Board in regard to his son having to say "yes ma'm" and "no ma'm" to a teacher and wanted to know if this was Board Policy. His children did not have to say it to him and consequently, he wanted to know if this was school policy and felt the Board should deal with this.
>
> Mrs. Lawrence spoke to the Board in regard to the number of Black students at New Junior High; wanted to know if any of the Board members lived south of Highway 478; and if any Board member sent his children to parochial schools.
>
> Mrs. Heinrich again spoke to the Board requesting that citizens be involved in the Housing Committee for their input.
>
> Mrs. Wehner spoke to the Board stating she was here for the music presentation and that this was the first time she had attended a Board meeting and she probably would never attend another meeting. She said all she heard were personal problems and felt this was not the place for that.
>
> Mrs. Mitchell spoke to the Board and wanted to know where she could find the By-laws of the Board of Education and see the minutes of the meetings.
>
> Mrs. Herschel said she felt a student could say "yes Miss XXX" or "no Miss XXX" instead of "yes ma'm" or "no ma'm."

> Mr. Ellsberry spoke to the Board in regard to the overcrowding at Field School and if it would be helpful if there was a test for elementary students similar to the state Basic Skills Test.
>
> Mr. Goodman stated he had been to the Central Office to get some information in regard to Field School and he hoped the Board would dissiminate more information to the public or form a citizens' committee to work on the housing problem. (2/26/80)

In the Board elections, April, 1980, the two incumbents, Reeves and Fern, overwhelmed the opposition:

Mr. Reeves	5,292
Mr. Fern	5,079
Mrs. Smith	929
Mrs. Thomas	820

Each of the incumbents was male and White. Each of the challengers was female and Black. The results, when analyzed by polling places, indicate that Reeves and Fern won in every precinct. The sentiments of the local Milford community are clear.

As always, our pursuit of any one theme, e.g. governmental programs and policies, soon involves us with other themes, e.g. curriculum and governance. Now perhaps we are in the midst of one of the most fundamental conflicts in American society--national concerns for equality and local concerns for autonomy. The national concerns are mediated by federal laws, court decisions at all levels including the Supreme Court, and Justice Department functionaries of the Executive Branch. The local concerns are mediated by free and open elections of duly constituted governmental units, i.e. the Milford School District. And they come out in disagreement and conflict.

The Apogee of Teacher Involvement and Activism

In Milford, every major national or intellectual problem seems to have its local and specific counterpart. Teacher involvement, activism, and militancy has had a long history in Milford (see for example our Volume I, Chronicling the Milford District). The role of teachers in governance of the schools, particularly in regard to employment, hiring, firing, tenure, and conditions of work are very different in 1980 than in 1915 or 1920. The distance tranversed is not far enough for some teachers and too far for some Board members. The Milford administrators mostly side with the Board, and some have found their own positions needing re-evaluation as they moved from teaching positions to administrative positions. Many of the professionals perceive that "the position determines the perspective," a way of capturing legitimately different political interests and difficult to avoid social conflict.

In the Spring of 1976 (April 27), the teachers' salary committee presented a list of issues for Board consideration.

Insert Figure 42 About Here

The Board took them up one by one. It is helpful also to summarize some of the major items in the benefits and changed working conditions that have occurred over the years.

Insert Figure 43 About Here

1. Discipline
2. Reduction in Staff Policy
3. Grievance Procedure
4. Payroll Deductions for Professional Dues
5. Recognition of Representative Organization
6. Released Days for Professional Workshops
7. Human Relations Program
8. Maternity Leave

Figure 42: Discussion Items From The MNEA Salary Committee

1. Insurance: Accident, Life, Medical, Major Medical
2. Tax sheltered annuities
3. Extra duty pay
4. Salary bases
5. More longivity steps
6. Pupil/teacher ratio 25-1
7. Sick leave
8. Retirement program

Figure 43: Benefits and Working Conditions in 1975-76

Once again, American society in general has changed dramatically in these regards. Most teachers in Milford would see the changes coming slowly and behind the general societal changes in quality and quantity. The Board consistently has commented that they are doing what they can with the limited resources they have.

In the Spring of 1976, personnel problems erupted over two P.E. teachers who had been on the staff for several years and had received good ratings until this year. The quarrel involved a substantive issue over annual P.E. festivals in the elementary schools, changing them from required to voluntary, and whether the P.E. teachers had refused a directive, a direct order from the Principal and the Assistant Superintendent. Entanglement occurred within the grievance procedure(s) and protocol in following those procedures. Board policy indicated no middle level sanctions--suspension without pay, a year of forced leave, etc. The meeting lasted to 3:00 A.M. and was reconvened the next evening. The vote was 4-2 not to rehire. Mrs. LeDuc and Mr. Wells dissented.

A vigorous effort was made by the Milford NEA and interested patrons. Telegrams came from a half dozen other suburban CTA's, several parents wrote letters, several hundred patrons signed a petition, and a large group came to Board meetings. The Board agreed to reconsider the case. A one year suspension, which the school lawyer now deemed legal, was voted down 2-4, the two women members on the losing side. Placement on an

> ...involuntary leave of absence under the same conditions as all other teachers on that list

was passed 4-2. This time the dissenters were Reeves and Tuley.

Teacher activism has its consequences, at least in the perceptions of other actors in the system. The Board minutes report one set of perceptions:

> Dr. George said a meeting was held April 26 with the Mothers' Circles in regard to the tax levy election on May 25. He said there were only 13 mothers there which was representative of seven schools in the District. Dr. George said the mothers' interest was not good and that they felt that the turmoil of a possible strike at the end of February and the picketing teachers had not helped the situation. Dr. George said her recommendation was that the election be cancelled. (4/27/76)

The recommendation carried (4-2) with Mr. Eastland and Mr. Reeves dissenting.

The stress from declining enrollments and inability to pass tax levies, not only required the Board to put teachers on involuntary leave but also involved occasional involuntary transfers. Administrators made decisions, teachers were unhappy, the Board listened but typically backed the administration. The Board continued to urge the Principals to seek volunteers for needed change.

The MNEA group continued to press the administration for school faculty meeting time for representatives to present their case, requiring teachers to attend, permitting out-of-district representatives to make presentations. Mrs. LeDuc and Mrs. Ostermann supported most of the MNEA agenda, the overall Board did not.

In the Autumn of 1977, concurrently with the resignation of Mrs. Saenger, the third one of "the ladies" on the Board, teacher activism also reached its peak and began to dissipate in strength. The Board and the Milford NEA had been working on "last year's salary" under a tentative agreement from the prior Spring. Acrimony was high and settlements were slow in coming:

> Mr. Josephson, local Director of the Midwest State NEA, spoke to the Board in regard to reaching some agreement with the Milford NEA and stated there were 563 school districts and of those, 562 have reached salary agreements with their teachers and those districts received the same information as the Milford School District. Mr. Josephson denied he said the Administration was dishonest at a meeting held the night before.
>
> Mrs. Archer (a patron) spoke to the Board and said she was at the meeting the night before and Mr. Josephson did say the Administration of Milford is being dishonest. (11/8/77)

And so it went, back and forth.

Entangled were issues of a $300 raise, a Reduction in Force Policy, Grievance Policy, and extra duty pay for after school events. The meeting of November 8, 1977, adjourned at 2:15 A.M. Side issues concerned the pending Bond campaign for buses and building improvements.[35] Issues of priority were raised: How could the Board commit to $1,000,000 in physical improvements and two and three year contracts to the Administrators but not the teachers? Alleged lack of integrity of Mr. Eastland, a Board member who belonged to an industrial union, legitimated since the Wagner Act of 1935, but would not negotiate with the teachers. Mr. Eastland fired back that Midwest State does not permit government employees, police, and teachers to organize. Finally, there was a big internal hassle as to what constitutes a "majority of the whole Board" when they are five persons (due to Mrs. Saenger's resignation). The school lawyer sided with the conservatives and said it still required four votes, rather than three.

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[35] This eventually passed on November 22, 1977.

Finally, in early December, 1977, when the State Funds were in hand, and were larger than anticipated, the Superintendent recommended a $450.00 increase on the base salary for the current year (1977-78). The Board voted 5-0 in support.

Teacher activism didn't end all of a sudden but dimminished gradually as the conservative Board now had the votes to beat back the challenges. One of the activists, Mr. Loman, a junior high school teacher, had been recommended for transfer to another building because of "using school records for political purpose", i.e. post cards supporting teacher indorsed school board candidates and issuing an "inflammatory and divisive" memo. Mr. Loman went through the multi-level grievance procedure: 1) principal; 2) central office staff member; 3) superintendent; and now 4) the Board. The Board heard both sides and voted 5-1 (Mrs. Ostermann dissenting). (5/23/78)

The ebbing of teaching activism appeared in a brief Spring, 1979, minute. The Board's salary discussion team became three middle level Central Office Staff members (not the Superintendent nor either of the two Assistant Superintendents) and only one Board member, appointed by the Board President. That Spring (1979), the Board team offered the teachers a $450.00 salary increase to a base of $10,000.

The Board continued its policy of putting a number of teachers on "leave of absence" each Spring while awaiting the Fall enrollment figures. In addition, the Board developed and implemented an Early Retirement Policy.

The Board accepted the resignations of a half dozen teachers, one the Kensington Music teacher, for early retirement, granted a leave of absence to another teacher, and "elected" nine other teachers, three of whom were "recalled" from involuntary leave. Another ten had contracts changed because higher degrees (M.A.'s) and increased hours of education (e.g. M.A. plus 45 hours). Both steps and scales were involved. "Extra Activity contracts" were approved for another four teachers. Tax sheltered annuity contract changes were approved for another several dozen teachers and staff. Normal Board-teacher business continued to be handled "normally."

In 1980, the Board discussed who would be on the salary negotiating team, again selected three Central Office Staff and argued for a rotating scheme of one Board member per meeting. Part of the "ground rules" were meetings in the Central Office and on Board meeting nights. The internal Board conflict and the intensity of emotions were gone. The Board and Administration were together interpersonally, philosophically, strategically, and tactically. As we indicated earlier, that long battle, which teetered in the balance over several years and especially when the Board was split 3-3, was now over.

In March, 1980, the Board passed unanimously a $500.00 salary increase for the 1980-81 year. Accompanying the motion was this minute:

> Dr. George said a letter would be sent to the teachers informing them of the raise and that more money would have to be secured in order to give them a larger raise. He said the letter would state that it has always been the policy of the Board to give the teachers as much raise as they possibly could. (3/25/80)

If the Spring tax levy could be passed (24¢ increase in the teacher fund and 25¢ in the operating fund), then an additional $400.00 could be added to the base.[36]

Reality? Poverty? Paternalism? Victory?

Curriculum in the Milford Schools

The curriculum strand has been a major thread running through our account of Milford. The special thrust of the innovative Kensington curriculum was treated early and at length in Anatomy of Educational Innovation (Smith and Keith, 1971). Kensington's curriculum returned earlier in the present monograph, and it will receive final acknowledgement in Section 10 of this Volume. While that's an important focus for one of our main concerns, our intent here is to indicate that it's only one small piece of the overall curriculum strand in Milford. Another piece of that strand, Adult Education, came to Milford in the mid 1930's. More recently, that program differentiated into two pieces, Adult Basic Education (ABE) and Adult Education. Two brief tables of data indicates some important aspects of this effort.

Insert Figures 44 and 45 About Here

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[36] It did not even reach a simple majority.

1.	Number of students		
		a. Beginning Grades 1-4	82
		b. Intermediate Grades (5-8)	145
		c. High School (9-12)	54
			281
2.	Sex:	Male	83
		Female	198
3.	Age:	18-24	113
		25-34	55
		35-44	50
		45-54	37
		55-64	20
		65+	6
4.	Race:	White	239
		Negro	34
		Oriental	5
		American Indian	1
		Spanish Surname	2

Figure 44: Adult Basic Education Enrollments

	1974-75	
	Fall	Spring
Adult Education Classes		
Classes offered	66	59
Classes formed	46	50
Persons enrolled	1027	1065

Figure 45: Regular Adult Education Program: 1974-75

Several generalizations appear warranted. With the ABE program, Milford is essentially giving opportunities for individuals to change their minds, that is, to "recover" from an earlier decision to drop out of school or a decision by someone else regarding suspension or expulsion. Second, the effort ranges from literacy (84 students in primary classes) to high school diplomas through a G.E.D. program. Third, the program is drawing disproportionate numbers of women. Fourth, the program draws across a wide age span, yet serves a modal group of young adults. Finally, while the population is predominantly White, a number of minority citizens are members of the program.

The Adult Education Program continues as it has with courses ranging from Accounting to Volleyball. Ballroom Dancing, Candle Making, Driver Education, Guitar Playing, Sewing, Shorthand, Slimnastics, and Tennis are well represented in between. The major generalization seems a broad array of personal interests and skills are being accommodated and developed. Second, both programs are self-supporting except that the ABE program drew about 12% of its budget from State funds ($3500 out of $30,000 total).

In September, 1975, Dr. Luther, the Assistant Superintendent, presented a six page, 12 item outline of a proposed pilot program at the High School for a Suspension Alternative Class (SAC), the acronym being a nice piece of irony in itself. The Board minutes summarize the program and the discussion:

> ...the goals for the Suspension Alternative Class were to be used as an alternative to suspension in ordinary cases, to provide an alternate program for the modification and rehabilitation in behavior of students who find it difficult to

> function in the regular school setting, to search for causes of behavioral problems and to provide solutions to enable the students to function in the regular school, and to provide stimuli for self understanding and self acceptance to change.
>
> Mr. Bakan (High School Principal) said the proposal would require two teachers to be employed for the program and they must have a positive attitude and want to work with students who are having problems.
>
> In response to Mrs. LeDuc's question as to whether these teachers would teach these children, Mr. Bakan said they would hope that they would work with the children and help with the homework but would primarily maintain discipline.
>
> Mr. Bakan (the Principal) said this class would give students an opportunity to make up tests and keep up with classroom work. Mr. Bakan said he knew of no other district this had been tried in and this may not be the answer but they would like to try it.
>
> It was the consensus of the majority of the Board that something such as this needed to be done and this was a step in the right direction. (9/9/75)

As parents heard of the discussions, they entered comments pro and con. One wanted the program extended to the Junior High School. The tenor of opinion seemed to be that the program would be a favorable alternative to the youngsters being out of school three or more days. Later, a Saturday Suspension Alternative Class was organized for two Junior and Senior High School classes.

In an important sense, the Board and Administration are perceiving changes in the community and in the youngsters who are to be educated. Their response has been two major new programs, an Adult Basic Education effort which extends an earlier smaller set of classes helping students prepare for G.E.D. certificates, a high school diploma equivalent, which is a major job entry requirement. Within the High School itself, a furthur program, involving two teachers provides a Suspension Alternative

Classroom, to the full removal of an adolescent from the school.[37] In addition, as noted elsewhere, the high school program especially continues to offer increasing options. Discussions of human relations programs seemed always on the periphery. Counselors, at all three levels--elementary, junior, and senior high school, were busy extending the special services arm of the Milford program.

Also, slowly but surely, the Board reviewed its early graduation requirements. In November, 1976, the Summer School attendance requirement was eliminated for Joni Edwards. Formal change in written policy occurred shortly thereafter. As youngsters took overloads during some years and extra work in Summer School, many wanted to enter the job market early or take advanced work in a technical school or community college. Instrumental requirements--four full years of attendance, and ritual requirements--maintaining the integrity of each cohort or graduating class involves a gradual reconstruction of the "nature of Milford High School in the Milford Community."

With the changing curriculum in the Milford School District as one of our continuing themes, it seems appropriate to close out this strand of our story with an account of the Outdoor Education Project (OEP). As we note in some detail in our report of the Kensington School Today

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[37] Several years later, Dr. Wales, the new Principal of Kensington Elementary School, will inagurate a somewhat similar program, an Afternoon Suspension Class for many of the same reasons.

(Volume IV), we were a part of the Outdoor Education Project as participant observers, one of our fascinating days as ethnographers. Consequently, this episode continues also another substantive linkage among the many topics and the several volumes of the final report. Once again, we begin with the data from the Board minutes:

> Mr. Ravarino said he had been invited to attend a meeting on November 15 sponsored by the Community Council of Milford Village. He said the purpose of the meeting was to acquaint the community with an outdoor education program for the youth. *He said the purpose of the program was to build character in our youth, respect for others, eliminate defiancy and militancy and put an end to permissiveness in our school system.* (Our Italics) Mr. Ravarino said he was so impressed by O.E.P. and Community Council at the meeting he felt that this was one of the fine means to begin to solve some of the District's long term problems. He said one of the District's problems was vandalism which is very costly to the District and a great worry to the Administration. Mr. Ravarino said that by utilizing the outdoor program for the youth, they could eventually overcome the evils of vandalism. Mr. Ravarino said the O.E.P. program focuses on the sixth grade level for a starter, however, Mr. Ravarino said eventually perhaps it could be worked into kindergarten up through high school.
>
> Mr. Ravarino said teachers and parents pay $30.00 for a training course to be eligible to participate in the program. Mr. Ravarino said he felt the District should pay for substitute teachers when the regular teachers are in the field with the youths on an outdoor activity. He said it was his understanding that the District would not pay for certification of P.E. teachers but would pay for substitute teachers if the teacher is certified. Mr. Ravarino presented a petition to the Board with 187 signatures supporting the Outdoor Education Program proposal.
>
> Mr. Ravarino introduced Mr. Beckman from the Metropolitan City O.E.P. Mr. Beckman said the purpose was to develop two programs for sixth graders--one in the Spring and one in the Fall. He said they would have groups of ten or twelve working together to figure out how to go over a 12 foot fence, etc. He said the P.E. teacher would be certified and work with the sixth grade students. Mr. Beckman said it would take three days total to be certified--Level One, one day and Level Two, a weekend staying overnight. He said there were 580 teachers certified in the Metropolitan City area.

> It was pointed out that there were agencies outside of O.E.P. that have programs and Mr. Ravarino said they must have a commitment from the Board before they could talk to any agency.
>
> Mr. Beckman showed slides in regard to the program. A lengthy discussion followed with Mr. Ravarino urging the Board to implement the program. Mr. Moench, a teacher at the New Junior High School and Mrs. Valone, patron of the District, spoke to the Board urging them to approve the program. It was pointed out that the District does participate in a similar program on a voluntary basis and the Board does not want to direct teachers to become involved in this program if they do not wish to.
>
> After further discussions, Mrs. Ostermann moved that the Board go on record as approving the continuation of the outdoor program for sixth grade students on a voluntary basis to be administered by the Board and the Curriculum Department. Mr. Fern seconded the motion and it carried unanimously.(12/12/78)

In this illustration, we have a near prototype of "recent" or "current" approaches to curriculum change in Milford. We have tried to generalize it into a model to contrast with earlier efforts in the Spanman year. The day to day workings of the program will appear later in our discussion of Kensington Today (Volume IV).

Insert Figure 46 About Here

That same evening that the Outdoor Education Program was considered, a Basic Skills program (Title IV-C) was rejected because the staff of seven of the nine elementary schools showed a "lack of commitment." Teacher interest seems an additional important variable in Milford's curriculum changes. A new high school chemistry program was supported because the "staff felt this would be a tremendous step for the student in science." A week later, new science books and curriculum were being considered also. Thirteen companies responded to an invitation to

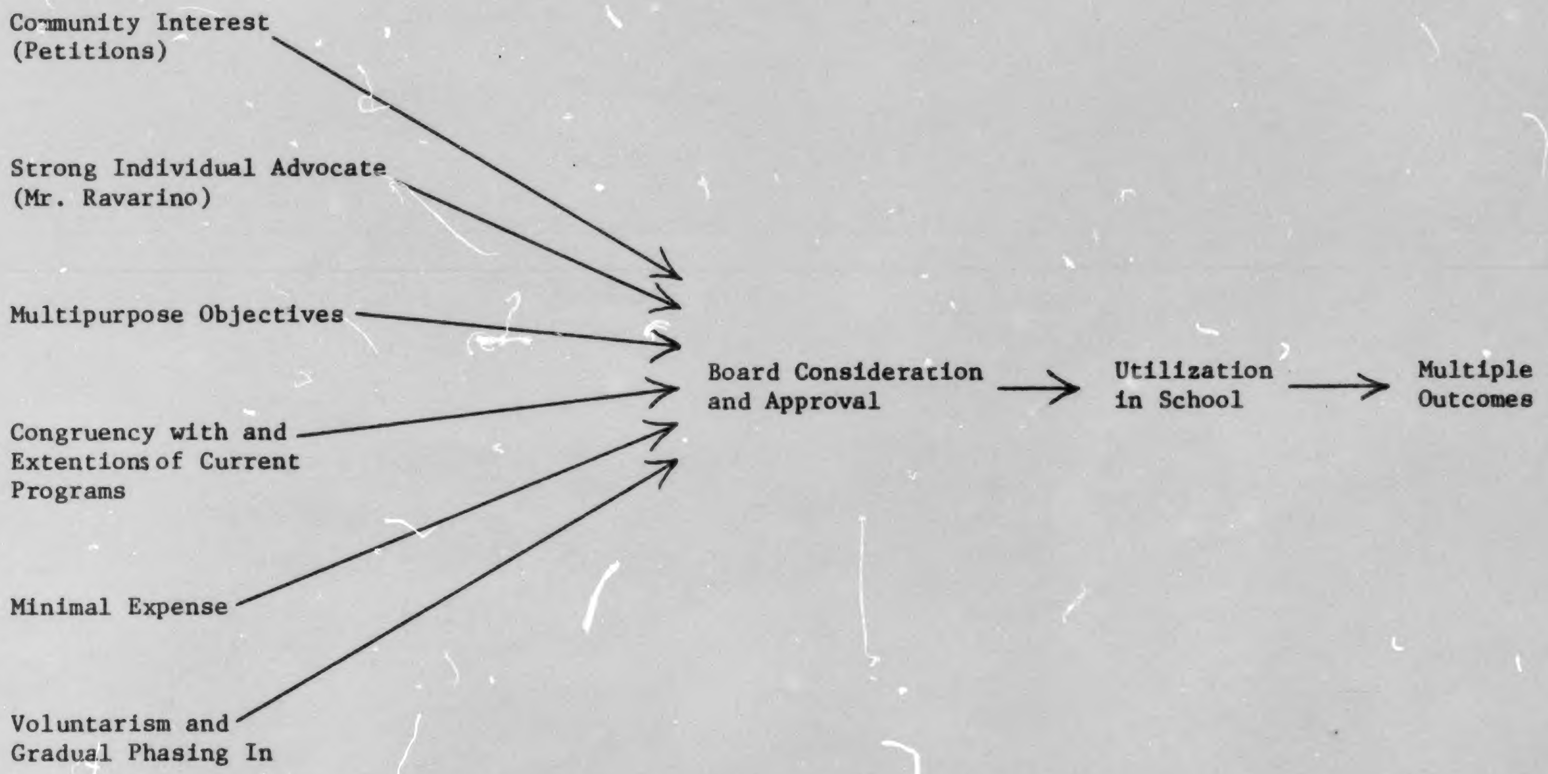
Community Interest
(Petitions)
Strong Individual Advocate
(Mr. Ravarino)
Multipurpose Objectives
Congruency with and
Extentions of Current
Programs
Minimal Expense
Voluntarism and
Gradual Phasing In
Board Consideration
and Approval
Utilization
in School
Multiple
Outcomes

Figure 46: Outdoor Education:
Elements in Recent Curriculum Change in Milford

present their materials. Finally, we would note another item for the hypothesis of small, mundane curriculum changes cumulating over the years into major differences. Milford High School in 1979-80 has over 100 accredited units in its program. A far cry from 1927 when the High School began and 1931 when the first class of less than a dozen students graduated.

If further data are needed to accent the general points just made, they appeared a month later in January, 1980. A curriculum issue was under discussion. "Close-up", a Washington, D. C. social studies seminar had been attended by seven students from the Senior High. The teacher and the students commented on the program. One student had been selected to debate "the draft" on a local TV program. They urged the Board to support the program financially in the future. The Board indicated that no request or presentation had been made before.

Deportment: The Multiple Guises of Discipline

No one seems to use the term "deportment" anymore; we never heard it in any conversation we had over the several years we were in Milford. Webster's dictionary indicates that it:

> ...applies especially to one's action in relation to the external, often conventional, amenities of life.

One of the most fascinating aspects of American society in the late 20th Century--depressing to some and elating to others--is that the conventions, the amenities, and civility itself have become as problematic as an individual's particular actions, his/her deportment. Rightly or wrongly, in some broader sense, Milford's Board and its schools were in the middle of this excitement and turmoil. Here we do little more than round out a discussion of a strand of events and issues whose beginning occurs in the earliest written records of the District.

In April of 1976, the President of the Senior High Student Council presented a petition to establish a smoking area for a trial period, May 3-June 3. A variety of reasons and arguments accompanied the petition. The Board voted it down 2-4. The proponents were Mr. Eastland and Mrs. LeDuc. The issue reappeared in 1977 when the Board split 3-3. The President of the County Board of Education voted with the nay sayers. The issue has not returned since.

On occasion an item appeared in the minutes which seemed much more significant than its few short lines might warrant at first glance. In June, 1976, two suspensions were being considered. One youngster's parents appeared and argued that a semester's suspension for setting off firecrackers was too strong a punishment for their son who until now, had been in no difficulty in the High School. The Board listened, discussed, and voted unanimously to change the ruling from a suspension to probation with attendances at the Saturday Alternative Classes. The next minute was this:

> Dr. George said that Bill Deutchman, another student at the Senior High School, had been recommended for suspension for the first semester of the 1976-77 year for shooting firecrackers. He said since his parents had chosen not to appear before the Board, he (Dr. George) felt he should plead his case. (6/22/76)

The Board voted for similar treatment to the first case.

Two years later, at a Board meeting in February, 1978, five students were expelled:

1) earlier suspension for possession of knife, slapping a teacher, and threatening school personnel
2) boarding a school bus while suspended, fighting with a girl, abusive language and threatening a staff member
3) continuous fighting, discharging a weapon
4) firing a hand gun in the Junior High hallway
5) possession of controlled substance

One former expellee who had been in a special education program was permitted to return to the High School. The staff speaks of such issues as "the changing clientele of the District."

In summary, throughout our discussion of the Board of Education and in spite of the rise and fall of the 6-0 to the 3-3 split and then the 4-2, 6-1 minorities and the return to the 6-0 consensus (April, 1978), there was considerable agreement on a number of issues. Almost without exception during this whole period, and before also, and now after as well, the Board supported unanimously a strong disciplinary policy--no drugs, no weapons, no bodily harm to other students or faculty. Possession, use, or selling "controlled substances" was an automatic semester suspension. Each suspension was ratified unanimously by the Board. Possession or use of weapons, and physical violence to a staff member brought permanent expulsion. At one time or another, these rules applied to males and females, Blacks and Whites, Junior and Senior High Pupils, honor students, first offenders, and others. The policies were written, publicized to students, parents, and patrons, and enumerated and classified in Board meetings month after month.

In the 1978-79 year the discipline cases appearing before the Board and involving expulsion from school were formalized a step further. The school lawyer was present, he interrogated witnesses. The student could bring additional witnesses; and a lawyer as well. One or both parents also were usually present. The interchange was now labeled "Hearing of ____________" and reported separately in the minutes. The first of these records to appear in the minutes was four, single-spaced, typed pages long.

In 1979, the Board adopted unanimously, Policy 5155, "Weapons and Dangerous Instruments":

> A student shall not knowingly possess, handle, or transmit any kind of firearm, bowie-knife, springback knife, razor, metal knuckles, sword cane, dirk, dagger, karate sticks, or other similar objects that reasonably can be considered as weapons.. on school grounds...or school activities...penalty...suspension. (8/28/79)

This is a far cry from the concerns over corporal punishment in the Milford Elementary School in the 1920's. Time and circumstances have changed. As one reads, one feels a war is underway.

Further complexities of late 20th Century discipline problems appeared in an appeal by a high school student and his father to have the boy reinstated. He had poured a carton of milk over the head of an assistant principal as a concluding act in a pot smoking high. Agencies and support personnel in the form of Juvenile Court, a local hospital and its six week program, a psychiatrist and psychologist had all been involved:

> Mr. St. Clair was informed that Bill could attend Adult Basic Education without charge and receive a high school diploma. (8/28/79)

In September, when a letter from the psychologist who had been working with Bill stated that he (the psychologist) did not know how Bill would react if he were allowed to reenter the classroom, the Board voted unanimously to let the expulsion stand.

On the one meeting held in December, 1979, the Board had discussions of two high school pupils--one mostly a "thank you" for help in resolving class scheduling problems. Another expressing "concerns over her daughter's education." "After a lengthy discussion", the Board took it under advisement. The Board's action continued the long tradition of responsiveness to individual parents and their children. The hours spent listening and the follow-up through superintendent, principals, and teachers are very much part of the District atmosphere. *But*, once made up, changing the Board's mind, however, was a difficult task. In the recent years, no conditions or extenuating circumstances deflected them from their clear, hard stance on drugs, weapons, and abuse of teachers.

The discipline strand interwove with the teacher activism strand. In regard to the 1980 salary and welfare discussion was this minutes:

> Among other things, Mr. Overholt said one of the items discussed was "assualt leave." He said the teachers felt if they were injured by a student and had to be out of school, it should not be taken from their sick leave. (3/25/80)

As we said earlier, no one uses the term "deportment" anymore. Similarly, "discipline" seems a word that no longer fits. "Warfare" struck us earlier. "Society of captives," Sykes (1962) label for a prison seems both too harsh and somewhat beside the point. Memni's "the Colonized and the Colonizer" (1965) suggests a metaphor from another time and place. In our view, American society has a bigger problem than it wants to acknowledge. Coping with it demands a better integration of local, state, and national efforts than has been achieved in recent years.

9.5 A Final Scene

Movies often end with the hero and heroine walking along a dusty road, up the hill, toward a summer sunset. Research reports often finish with broadly drawn conclusions and utopian recommendations. Accounts of school Board deliberations and schooling at the District level seem more like old soldiers--retaining their integrity as they fade away. It's hard to know who the heroes and heroines are, and sun rises and sunsets keep recurring and recurring and recurring. In May and June, 1980, a final set of images, a last scene as it were, occurs as several themes pop out again in slightly new garments.

Gordian knots come in all shapes and sizes in the public schools. A short paragraph captures one worthy of Gordius and Alexander the Great:

> Mr. Eastland read a letter from Mrs. Bobbe Berra expressing her concern and displeasure on the Title I Program. She said her son attends Catholic School and needed to go to Summer School. She said she proceeded to call the Milford District for information and was told that her son was not eligible to attend Summer School because he did not live in one of the specified areas. She said she understood that lower income families and neighborhoods need help and the fact that government money was available to help them was fine but what about

> her son? She said he needs help too and she did not think it was fair that middle income families were disregarded. She said she was sure that her son was not the only child in the District that needs the benefits of a Summer School Program.[38] She said the fact that she had to turn to a neighboring school district for help was unfair. She said she thanked the Board for reading the letter and she felt she had to let someone know how she felt. (5/27/80)

At the same meeting in late May, the Board accepted the resignations of a half dozen teachers, not a large number for a District as large as Milford. The significant aspects were several fold. All but one had more than ten years experience. The response of four, "signed with another district" was unusual; personal reasons and family reasons cover a multitude of problems. Three were New Junior High School math and science teachers. Five of the six were men. Staff accounts accented "They were among the best teachers." and "They had had enough and were going to districts with less problems."

In June, 1980, four Board meetings were held, two special and two regular. The special session on June 3rd reported the unofficial returns on the tax levy:

Yes	1,953
No	3,143

The later meetings indicated some of the reasons, as perceived by patrons in the Patrons Participation part of the Board meetings. We list them in paraphrased form:

---

[38] The regular Summer elementary program had been dropped a year before because of declining demand.

1) retired people
2) should cut some administrators
3) teachers and parents should have more input
4) not enough information gotten out
5) need for a door-to-door campaign
6) the desegration case in Big City not helping situation
7) youth group in one church "came on a little too strong"
8) the teachers had signed a contract yet were threatening a strike

Tax levies have come and gone. In recent years, passage has been very difficult for all kinds of reasons, many of which appeared in the paraphrased list. The not so latent impact of demographic shifts appear--aging population, decreased number of pupils, changing populations, and turmoil over changing youth, teacher activism, and imminent court action regarding desegregation.

At the June 10 meeting, the Assistant Superintendent, Dr. Luther, reported on the results of the recently established state-wide Basic Skills Test (BST). The results were not encouraging:

	1978	1979	1980
Reading	86.8%	87.9%	87.8%
Mathematics		67.2%	62.4%
Social Studies	73.7%	-	53.8%

In his words, reading "remained constant", math "showed a drop", and social studies "was very weak". The Board had a question and answer period and thanked him for the presentation. On the surface, elementary curriculum has become basic skills. Such an approach would not offend many of the patrons and the staff. For a community proud of its schools, the "low" percentages were disturbing.

At the June 17th meeting, the metropolitan desegregation issues reappeared. Milford continued to believe it had not been a part of Metropolitan City's problems and hence did not believe it should be a part of the solution:

> The Board discussed the letter of Dr. Adams (Midwest State Superintendent) of June 11, 1980. Dr. George reported that Mr. Pierce (School Lawyer) advised that some one should go to the meeting of June 18 and listen to what was presented but not participate in any of the discussion. If the question of naming another attorney should come up, they should merely say that the District's attorney was unable to accompany them to the meeting. There was some discussion as to securing another attorney to represent the School District and a number of names were discussed. The administrators were directed to contact Mr. Pierce in regard to securing another attorney.
> (6/17/80)

A week later, the Board accepted the resignation and retained Mr. O'Brien at the same fee for the next six months.

The battle is joined. From the Board and central administration's position, Milford did not contribute to the segregation of Metropolitan City and hence should not be compelled to be a part of the solution to the City's problems. Further, as the Board members see it, the solution of mandatory Metropolitan Desegregation with its massive transportation and financial costs and complications in "a solution that has not worked anywhere in the United States. It would pull Milford down while not improving Metropolitan City." as the Board perceives it.

Among a number of issues--tax levies, basic skills test scores, and desegration remain major agenda items for the Board, for Milford. And, it goes without saying, for other local, state, and the national community as well.

10. THE KENSINGTON STORY: NOW A MINOR EVENT IN MILFORD

10.1 Introduction

At this point, we backtrack to 1968-69, and pick up the thread which started our historical and contemporaneous contextual search, the Kensington School. In the last dozen years, as we will see, the school has become a relatively minor item for the Board of Education. Kensington is now just one among the dozen Milford Schools. In a sense though, that gives a further kind of insight. If one tracks a single school through the Board minutes, what image develops about the kind and degree of contact a Board has with any one elementary school. It goes without saying--this Board, at this time.

10.2 Picking Up The Story

The 1968-69 year's first item, as described in more detail earlier, involved the difficulties in passing a $1,800,000 bond issue, a part of which was to pay for enclosing the sheltered play area. In late January, on the third try, the bond issue passed.

In February, 1969, the Board approved Mr. Schwartz's use of pictures of the schools, earlier published in a Journal, in a book he is writing. Part of innovation is a continuing notoriety as journalists', educationists', and educational researchers' work and careers, run parallel, intersect and diverge with the particular innovation and the district in which it occurs. A number of issues, in rights of human subjects', privacy, professionalism intertwine with these events.

In April, 1969, the architects presented final plans for Kensington's revisions and were authorized to purchase a 60 foot long, 30 inch wide, steel beam "for support of the roof for the enclosure of the Kensington School." (4/22/69) A special meeting was called for May 20th for bids on the alterations. They were opened, tabulated, and taken under advisement until the regular May 27th meeting. The meaning of the delay appeared a week later:

> Mr. Canter, of Needles and Ernhart Architects, discussed various items that could be omitted from the plans for the alterations at the Kensington School to cut the cost of construction.
>
> Mr. Tuley moved that the Board reject all the bids received at the meeting of May 20, 1969, for the Kensington School and resubmit the bids as per the omissions stated by Mr. Canter. Mr. Ernst seconded the motion and it carried unanimously. (5/27/69)

In July, 1969, the Board accepted a bid of $102,562.00 for alterations in the Kensington School. The major alteration involved the conversion of the covered play shelter into a multipurpose gym and cafeteria room. In January, 1970, bids were accepted for "wall-surface tables with benches and cabinets for $3,213.00. In March they refused to widen a three foot door to three and a half feet on an architectural change order. In June, 1970, a bid for floor tile was accepted and tile and glue was purchased for the multipurpose room floor for $1,512.10 at Kensington.

In September, 1970, the Board approved $1,100.00 for blacktopping the driveway and walkway at Kensington.

It seems instructive to note that the alteration in one of the major architectual innovations took almost two years to bring about. The Bond issue presented its own kind of problems. Milford's "closeness with a dollar" remained in evidence. No one on the Board fought the change substantively or symbolically. In spite of the earlier (1963-64) rhetoric about "multipurpose" rooms being "multiuseless" rooms, Milford, in the last years of McBride's tenure prior to 1962, had worked hard to upgrade and equalize facilities in all the district's elementary schools. Part of that upgrading had been building multipurpose additions on to older buildings. Now, the equalizing and upgrading had been to alter a building innovation to make it congruent with the nature and form of the earlier structures. As we have indicated, the post Spanman Board's beliefs and perspective were more in accord with the pre-Spanman Board. In contrast to a rose is a rose is a rose one might say "an innovation is not an innovation is not an innovation." A small item, but a major generalization.

In contrast, in June of 1971, the Superintendent's agenda contained a "this item is for information" regarding several schools, including the Kensington School:

> XVII Satellite Kitchens - Wage Savings
>
> The past school year the satellite kitchens were expanded. During the 1969-70 school year some of the food was prepared at Midvale and Kensington. In 1970-71, all the food was prepared at New Junior High for Field, Midvale, and Kensington and the Old Junior High School prepared lunches for Williams, Grant, and Milford Elementary. The previous year the six elementary schools had a work force of 130 hours per day and under the Satellite Program, the number of hours was reduced to 72 per day. This reflects a gross saving of $13,436.80. In order to properly staff the two cooking areas, it was

> necessary to increase the hours at Old Junior High School an additional 72 hours at a cost of $3,549.00. This results in a net savings of $9,887.50. (6/71)

The economic razor remains, not only one of the major constraints on decisions but as a major determiner of innovation. The satellite kitchen program, which was highly touted in Kensington's early literature, had had problems until it was coordinated with the cafeteria aspects of the multipurpose room. Centralizing food preparation has major cost benefits.

The maintenance of special school environments, air conditioning, costs money. In September, 1971, the Board approved a bid of $6,890.00 for a new compressor for one of the air conditioners at the Kensington School. The fact that Kensington remains one of only two air conditioned elementary schools in the District means, in the eyes of one central administrator, "we'll be stuck with it forever" as other buildings, which he sees as more functional in a traditional self-contained classroom program, are closed because of declining enrollments in the late 1970's and 1980's.

Since the departure of Spanman and his colleagues, curriculum change has been by small increments based on a mix of common sense and professional judgment often in response to evolving State Department requirements. In the Autumn of 1973, a Board decision and an accompanying set of letters and memos presents another image of educational innovation and change at the Kensington School. The Board action was this:

> A $2,000 expenditure from the textbook fund was requested for reading materials at the Kensington and Johnson Elementary Schools. The expenditure is due to the District's dropping

> the reading project begun in 1972 under XYZ Company. XYZ was committed to provide, free of charge, the necessary materials in kindergarten and first grade levels, but failed to meet this obligation. The Company has changed ownership and repeated efforts to force them to meet their commitments have been unsuccessful. This matter was brought before the Board to insure compliance with suggestions by Mr. Carlos, State Department of Education, since this expenditure will throw off the comparability requirements of Title I.
>
> Mr. Wells moved that $2,000 from the textbook fund be expended for reading materials at the Kensington and Johnson Elementary Schools. Mr. Galper seconded the motion and it carried unanimously. (11/27/73)

The supporting memos indicated that a pilot study of reading had been started the year before with children then in kindergarten. Because only part of the materials had arrived and these had come late, the Milford Director of Elementary Education was writing to the Milford Director of Government Programs. His reasoning, which seems so illuminating regarding this particular item of innovation and change, appeared in the final paragraph of his memo:

> I do not feel it is fair to teachers or children to wait any longer so transition to another program is planned that will require an outlay of approximately $2,000.00. This will throw the existing comparability posture out of balance, but since this is an extraordinary circumstance it is requested that relief from these requirements be allowed in the amount stated without prejudice to the Title I Summer Program as proposed.
> (11/15/73)

A copy of the memo was sent also to the Assistant Superintendent, Dr. Luther. On the same day he sent a short memo to the Superintendent, Dr. George. The key paragraph:

> I talked with Mr. Carlos on November 14 regarding the nature of our problem. He indicated that the category of "extraordinary circumstances" applies in this case and that a record

> of the problem be made at the District level. If, on audit at some future date, questions are raised as to why this expenditure was made, the State Department would support us. (11/15/73)

Item V on the Superintendent's Agenda for the November 27, 1973, Board meeting was titles "Expenditure for Non-Title I Schools Requested." The explanatory paragraph stated the issues:

> The normal operating procedure is for the District to meet the textbook needs without specific recommendations for expenditures. In this case, the spending of $2,000.00 in addition to the regular textbook allocations at Kensington and Johnson creates a loss of the comparability between schools and places Title I funds in jeopardy. Mr. Carlos, Director of Title I for the State Department, requested that this expenditure be recommended to the Board. The recommendation will serve as a record and the expenditure will be listed under the heading of "extraordinary circumstances" without a loss of Title I funds.
>
> Recommendation: It is recommended that $2,000.00 from the textbook fund be expended for reading materials at Kensington and Johnson Elementary Schools. (11/27/73)

In summary, it seems that the District's financial condition made free materials attractive. Reading is always a continuing problem for primary youngsters; special problems frequently arise with lower ses pupils, Title I. A continuing concern for the youngsters (and teachers) welfare seemed to demand the termination of the pilot study. To recoup, new materials had to be purchased, which in turn upset Federal guidelines and which might jeopardize Title I Summer funds. Consequently, an authorized State Department official was called. Their "rules" have a category for "extraordinary circumstances" and agreements were reached that the instance fit the category. Written records were maintained and a note of awareness stated to fend off possible problems in a later audit. Board action formalized the sequence of actions.

If one waits long enough, so it seems, commentary eventually comes in. In October of 1974, a problem arose regarding the building design:

> Mrs. Windle said there was also[39] a problem involving activities held in the multipurpose room after school and in the evenings. The doors were locked to the building and there was no access to toilets, water, or phones in case of an emergency. Mrs. Windle asked if the parents were willing to pay for it, could a mesh gate be put up in the office area where there would be no access to the rest of the school but they would be able to use the restrooms.
>
> President Reeves said he certainly could understand their problem and the Superintendent and Mr. Edwards would look into this situation and would report back to the Board with some kind of plan.
>
> President Reeves thanked Mrs. Windle for coming to the meeting. (10/8/74)

Mrs. Windle returned two weeks later asking about both the gas smell and the gate. Dr. George had met with the parents' group and had solicited bids on mesh fencing and expandable gates. One bid of $5,000 had been received. Mrs. Windle indicated that that was more than the various parental and patron groups could afford. Other women raised similar concerns about the lack of rest room facilities. The minutes then reported:

> President Reeves asked the women if there couldn't be a responsible person from each group that was meeting that could be given a key and be responsible for letting the children use the rest rooms and see that the children were supervised. He said the person could sit down with Mr. Edwards and Dr. George and some rules and regulations worked out. This way there would not be any cost involved. (10/22/74)

---

[39] Concern had been expressed immediately before about the "smell of gas" in the building.

The discussion continued and the Superintendent said he would talk with the principal and the maintenance supervisor.

At the November 12th, 1974, meeting, out of the blue came a minute acknowledging a letter from the Kensington faculty and staff commending the Principal, Mr. Edwards. It was signed by 30 individuals. The rarity of such action, at least in Milford, suggests that something is afoot. We report it verbatim as Figure 47.

Insert Figure 47 About Here

On November 26, 1974, a parent commented in the Patron Participation period about problems his son had with dust related allergies because the District was putting in wall partitions at the Kensington School. The decision had been made after school had started and consequently had not been done in the Summer. Dr. George indicated to a comment that the fire marshall had approved the walls and that the rumor that the walls would have to be removed was false. In general, "the building of walls" in the open space suite of Kensington was a long and controversial story among the superintendent, the several principals, the teachers, and occasionally outside authorities such as the fire marshall. Only this one time did it reach the Board in a manner formal enough for a "minute" to be made.

The Kensington School returned to the Board minutes on February 11, in the busy 1974-75 school year. This time a comflict arose between the Parents Council and the Mothers' Circle:

Kensington School
November 4, 1974

To President Reeves and the Board of Education:

It isn't often enough that we take the opportunity to commend a person who is the mainstay of our school and our daily life there. In fact, this person is probably most often overlooked entirely when it comes to thanking him, but he is always there when he is needed. Today we would like to take this opportunity to show our appreciation by writing this letter to you.

We, the staff, feel that these are some of the qualities which Mr. Michael Edwards, our Principal, displays:

Ability to make decisions in line with what is best for the children
Sensitivity to our personal crises
Dependable support
Provision of opportunity to discuss difficulties and disagreements among the staff
Has his hand on the pulse of school activities
Offers opportunity for creativity and independent thought in doing our jobs
Approachable and receptive to our concerns and ideas
Respect for our integrity (believes everyone has something to offer)

In closing, we would like to say that we feel Mr. Edwards is an outstanding educator. We would like to thank you for allowing us to express our appreciation.

Sincerely,

Figure 47: Letter from Kensington Staff

> Mr. Bill Diesing, a parent from the Kensington School, asked to speak to the Board in regard to a conflict between Mr. Edwards, Principal of the Kensington School, and the Parents' Council. He said that about two years ago, a group formed a new Parents' Council and about the same time, some of the mothers formed a Mothers' Circle and there is a conflict between the two organizations. Mr. Diesing feels this conflict is caused by Mr. Edwards. He said he had no complaints in regard to the educational program of the school but he felt that Mr. Edwards did not have a good relationship with parents. He said Mr. Edwards told them the Mothers' Circle was the official organization of the school. (2/11/75)

Mr. Diesing went on the argue for fathers' involvement, the possibility of a P.T.A., and Mr. Edwards' views that they can't make a viable organization. Mr. Reeves said they would look into it. Another father arrived, joined the discussion, and expressed similar opinions:

> He said they had parents who wanted to be involved and he couldn't and he couldn't understand why there was such opposition. (2/11/75)

This was a rare negative comment about Mr. Edwards. The issues in staff support, the changing neighborhood and his increasingly disabling illness are told in detail in Volume III, *Anuals of the Kensington School*.

In the late Spring of 1976, this minute about the Kensington School appeared:

> Dr. George said he would like the Board members to consider the possibility of changing the name of the Kensington School in memory of Michael Edwards. Dr. George said he was Principal ten of the twelve years the school has been open. He said the first job Mr. Edwards had was in the District and he had been with the District 27 years. Dr. George said he did not expect any action on this at this time but would like for the Board to consider it. (4/7/76)

Three weeks later, Mrs. Severia, representing the Mothers' Circle of Kensington, remade the recommendation regarding changing the school name to the Edwards School. On May 17, 1976, the Board voted unanimously for the change.

As we have indicated, the Kensington School appeared infrequently in the minutes in the remaining years; it was just another elementary school in the District. Mr. Edwards had died in the Spring of 1976, and had been replaced by Mr. Hawkins. Neighborhood changes occurred as dramatically in parts of its attendance area as anywhere in the District. The Kennerly Heights community had turned from almost all White to a majority of Black in a period of a few months. A few years earlier it had been isolated geographically with the extension and widening of Lindell Road into a major four-lane thoroughfare:

> Mrs. Severia[40] said she represented a group of concerned citizens from Kensington School and wanted to speak to the Board in regard to the boundary change between Midvale and Kensington Elementary School that was on the Agenda. She said the children living in Kennerly Heights have been moved three times back and forth and it would have been better to move them to three different schools. She urged that the Board consider everything before any decision is made. (4/25/78)

The boundary change item in the Agenda attempted to relieve the crowded conditions at Midvale. Essentially the recommendation would:

1) achieve a balance between the schools
2) return all (74) but 19 Kennerly Heights youngsters to Kensington

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[40] Mrs. Severia was active in the Kensington Mother's Circle, she attended Board meetings regularly, she was an outspoken advocate of the interests of her school and the District. Later, in 1979, she was nominated to fill a Board vacancy. In the following April, she was a regular term in the election.

> 3) Kensington would have 424 pupils in 1-6, a 26-1 pupil/teacher ratio, one or two kindergarten and two rooms for expansion. Midvale would be similar.

The Board tabled the item until May 9. On the 9th, they split the group more evenly by streets--44 to Kensington and 49 to Midvale and unanimously passed the motion. These stories we reported in more detail elsewhere.

But Kensington wasn't the only school under discussion:

> Mr. Reed asked the Board if they were going to continue to transport the children from Elmville to Johnson School *instead of where they belong* and Dr. George said this would be his recommendation. (Our Italics) (5/9/78)

The "where they belong" is a phrase with both a considerable history and strong meaning in Milford.

Kensington also appeared in a long discussion of the housing of special education students from the Metropolitan Exceptional Children's Program. That program continued to expand, it rented two of Milford's closed schools, the Marquette Elementary and the Grant Elementary and later the Hillside Elementary. The "least restrictive environment" clause also involved moving many classes into regular elementary, junior and senior high buildings. In the minutes:

> Mr. Gillespie, (Assistant Superintendent) said they would like to put a resource room at Kensington Elementary School and also an LD (Learning Disability) room which would service only children from that school.

Later in April, 1979, the Board continued its never ending adjustment of elementary boundaries and the transfer of some pupils:

> Mrs. Severia spoke to the Board in regard to boundary changes of three schools the Board would be considering later in the meeting. Mrs. Severia asked the Board to consider very carefully where they put the children from Kennerly Heights. She asked that those children be put some place and leave them instead of placing them back and forth. (4/14/79)

Later in the evening, the Assistant Superintendent for Elementary recommended that the 48 students from Kennerly Heights be returned to Kensington. The school would receive an extra teacher, as would two other schools having pupil/teacher ratios of 23 to 1. Two weeks later, the Board unanimously approved the transfers.

Although never phrased in terms of Black and White in the Board minutes and seldom in the Board discussions themselves, these items were the tip of the racial iceberg in Milford. Kensington was a part of the rapid transformation of the south side of the District, across the "Holy Highway" where schools were now in 1979-80, 60% (Kensington) to 99% Black. The magnitude of the issues, in the Kensington School is a major set of items in our other reports. The significant point here is they received almost no extensive open discussion in the Board meetings. For better or worse, the Board was not a public forum for these difficult, sensitive political issues.

In May, 1979, the Board accepted the resignation and early retirement of Mr. Hawkins at the age of 61. He had taught and administered in the District for 22 years.

Earlier, in a brief minute in March of 1979, a new principal was appointed to the Kensington School:

> Mr. Tuley moved that Jonas Wales be assigned to Kensington Elementary School as Principal, effective July 1, 1979, Step 10, Scale VII at an index of 1.4 and he be issued a two year contract. Mr. Reeves seconded the motion and it carried unanimously. (3/27/79)

He became, thereby, the fourth principal of the Kensington School.

10.3 "Innovation": An Interpretive Comment or Two

If not clear before, several items about educational innovation now seem very clear from these data and our reflection on these data. First, there is no such thing as a context free "innovation", a planned change for the better. Anything that is an improvement, that is better, at a minimum implies a value premise. The concept of innovation, in our view, by definition, has some kind of a value premise built into itself. Unfortunately, for discussion, argument, and action, the specific substantive value premise or premises are not stated in the definition, but depend on the individual speaker talking about an educational item or the individual listener hearing about the item. School rooms that can be used for eating lunch, for gymnastic activities, for recess periods, or for assemblies are called multipurpose rooms by some educators. Other educators see those as outdated structures, "multiuseless rooms" and call for innovative physical education shelters, a better kind of physical facility.

In addition, as we noted in Anatomy, the claims are often presented with minimal evidence, without clear value analysis, and sometimes in highly affective language. The brief account of the physical education shelter in the original Architectual Design Institute (ADI) literature before the Kensington School was built has a sobering effect, now after seeing the Board minutes in these years:

> Combining vast savings over gymnasium construction (which is usually poorly utilized in elementary schools) with the enhancement of proper acoustical form for a community ampitheater and for summer evening band concerts, this shelter is an inexpensive improvement on an old solution. The multi-use concept applied here was deliberately conceived and planned to offset the "multiuseless" room frequently built into the elementary school. Sides of the open shelter are protected by banks of shrubbery which deflect the winds which are then carried up and over by the shape of the roof.

It did not work that way then. The alterations have made for significant changes in the P.E. curriculum and the school organization.

Our earlier treatment of the satellite kitchens makes a most important generalization, extending our conception of context. A satellite kitchen is not just an entity in itself but has important relationships, is contingent upon, the other elements in the building. Contrast our discussion from the 1964-65 school year as reported in Anatomy of Educational Innovation (Smith and Keith, 1971) with the Board action of 1971 which we have just reported:

> "Satellite kitchens" is a fancy name for the fact that there is a very small kitchen and dishwashing area in the school. This demands that hot food be brought in daily from other larger and more well-equipped kitchen areas in the district. The notes are replete with statements about the difficulty in orbiting this particular satellite. Ultimately, the kitchen was located in area 105 that the building inspectors had deemed would be a hall and an emergency exit. This space originally was intended as another classroom area. Apparently the legal code also does not recognize the lack of corridors as a functional way of organizing a building. During the course of the midwinter, the people from the kitchen department and the central office were moved and shuffled about as they set up originally in the central portion of the theatre and then

later over on one side of the theatre, where kids were prone to hop, skip, and jump up the various levels in the theatre; finally, they ended up in 105, first on the side of an interior wall and then later on the outside wall. Thus, the difficulty in getting a regularly located spot for the serving of meals finally was resolved.

The other half of the situation, that part involving where the pupils would eat, never did reach the same degree of solution. A multipurpose room with tables that fold out from the walls for the lunch hour and where many children can eat at the same time did not exist at Kensington and, in effect, each classroom or laboratory learning suite became a cafeteria. From approximately 11:30 until 1:00 or 1:30 there are children in one area or another who are eating. The original idea of having children drift off individually to have lunch did not work out. In effect, each division then was assigned roughly one-half hour intervals in which most of their eating would be concentrated. This was to prevent jam-ups at 11:30. Perhaps the most basic problem that this created was that it tied the teachers down quite dramatically to the supervision of children. Only in Basic Skills Team-4 and some in Transition was this rotation of teacher supervision handled well. Typically, one teacher and one of the teaching aides would carry on the responsibility of being with the children, and the others, in one shift or another would be off to the curriculum center for lunch. In ISD it usually meant that the kids roamed around unsupervised through a good part of the period for there was very little trading or watching in any consistent way. This would be contrasted with the more typical public school where one or two teachers would have lunchroom duty supervision one day a week or three days in two weeks, and the like. In effect, the teachers had little total freedom away from the kids without having to keep one eye on the clock for when their turn came or without some guilt that no one was looking after the children at that point.

A further complication was the fact that food was all over the building. Some of this naturally got spilled, dropped, and slopped over. This provoked all kinds of problems, one illustration being an anecdote told by someone, which we have recorded in the notes, about kids carrying hamburgers in their pockets to keep them warm when they made the outside trip. Beyond this, there is one huge streak in the rug in the hallway of the administrative suite. A pupil had dripped a sloppy joe along the way and someone had tried to clean it up by using the wrong technique. This streak has been there for several months, and apparently it will take a major cleaning in the summer to get it out. Litter and garbage cans have accumulated and have been about in many areas. I am reminded here of sitting in Transition just yesterday and noticing under one of the highboy cabinets dust and dirt, scraps of paper, and crayons that seem to have been lying there for weeks, if not

> months. The major point I would make is that, with the food dispersed all over, the cleaning and maintenance problem is much more acute than it would be if eating were localized.
> (Smith and Keith, 1971, pp. 88-90)

Currently, the food is brought in, served in a lunch line on "the stage" of the original play shelter, and eaten at tables that fold down from the walls. The Principal, Dr. Wales, monitors this process on most days and gives his teachers a much appreciated "duty free" lunch hour.

These simple comments on the concept of innovation might seem very obvious and hardly more than common sense. As we will develop in our analytic and interpretive comments, we believe the issues raised about the physical education shelter and the satellite kitchen pose major problems for educational and social science theory and research methodology.

And, as should be clear now, even the same organizational unit, the Board, not to mention the office of the Superintendent, can shift its position or perspective as the incumbents change. And in the instance of the Board, the change needs only be in the majority. And even here, as we saw in some detail on other issues, 3-3 Boards require only one member to depart for a major alteration in perspective on an "innovation."

The Kensington reading program seems to accent a number of items on our theoretical agenda throughout Volumes I and II: 1) The need for holistic/synthetic/systemic thinking. Even if "everything's connected" is too strong for workable conception, without question changing any one item--the reading program changes multiple other items. 2) Today, as earlier, many changes involve equity among schools, pupils, and subgroups. But today, more than earlier, equity has legal and governmental definitions, monitoring, record keeping, and potentially sanctions. Anticipating these circumstances has become an important dimension of educational administration and organization. 3) Much of the knowledge required for these activities seems concrete, specific and historical, time and place bound and atheoretical, that is commonsensical. The issue for the educational theorist seems more epistomological rather than substantive. 4) All this seems to make many events in the lives of a classroom teacher look like "givens", affairs that are taken for granted, that are assumptions for their own thinking or action.[41]

And, as it seems, some of the most important changes, if not innovations, occuring in the Kensington School, that is the population changes, which were occuring elsewhere in the District also, received minimal formal discussion in the Board of Education. That seems an interesting anomaly for a District whose Board was so political and so full of conflict, of so many kinds over so many years of its history.

Perhaps the most interesting summary generalization is the minimal amount of special attention any one school receives in the minutes. Major items of expense, parental and patron concerns and items of grievance, the succession of administrators appear. Of course, each building's list of teachers is formally, if nominally, reconsidered each year in the awarding of contracts. As we reflect on it, the patron concerns and grievances seems a very critical category. In Milford, anyone who takes time to go to the Board and raise their issue, sets a number of processes in motion. The Board's attention is caught, at least momentarily, often an administrative "looking into it" begins. Sometimes a simple resolution occurs (keys to a responsible person for use of restrooms), even though the Board often seems to continue on its course.

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[41] Brock and Smith in their Teaching Tales and Theories (1981) raise the concept in considerable detail.

11. A PERSPECTIVE ON SCHOOLING FOR ADMINISTRATORS, THEORISTS, AND OTHER ACTORS

11.1 Introduction: A Metatheoretical Perspective

Over the years, it has frequently been our experience to pose problems, to make decisions, to do common sense things procedurally, and even to adopt tentatively theoretical perspectives which later turn out to be better and more important than we realized at the time. Our tacit knowledge and understanding kept running ahead of our more formal knowledge and understanding. This is an interesting and important issue in any craft or set of practical activities. Our most formal attempt to deal with one part of it appears in Smith (1981).

The Board Minutes

This time it was the discovery of the School Board minutes. We became obsessed with them, couldn't let them go, couldn't figure out how to handle them quickly and easily, yet couldn't understand why we were intrigued. Now, near the end of the exercise, a number of items come to mind. Metatheoretically, they: 1) involved a new data source or data category; 2) upset the pattern or structure of our thoughts about schooling; 3) moved us beyond our "normal science" and pressaged a paradigmatic shift; 4) generated excitement and disquietude; and 5) demanded the best of our creativity. In any research, that's a happy set of circumstances.[42]

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[42] On the negative side, it has been pointed out to us by a number of colleagues, and we realize as well, that the minutes have weaknesses also. We speak to those issues and the ways we have tried to compensate for the weaknesses in the Methodology volume (VII).

Substantively they forced upon us: 1) an historical view--"Lou, you've discovered history" as one friend commented; 2) a view of social events as the products of individual and group decision, especially the "moved, seconded, and passed" actions of the Board; 3) dimensions of political interest and social conflict; 4) the roots of rural/small town American Democracy; 5) the evolution of a school district from a small, two teacher, three director school and district into a large, 10,000 pupil, 13 school, complex, suburban district. While on the surface all that may not seem revolutionary, it did carry that kind of impact for us.

Although we certainly did not approach the records carte blanc, our admonitions were procedural--to look at the specific, the concrete, the mundane (Homans, 1950), to try to get the story straight (Scriven, 1959, 1972; Hexter, 1971), and to take the position of the "natives" and look to their meanings (Malinowski, 1922; Geertz, 1973). In addition, we had the powerful organizing devices of: 1) the original study and book, Anatomy of Educational Innovation; 2) the questions from the current research proposal, "What had happened to Kensington? and Why?"; 3) the evolving question, "Why had they built the school in the first place?"; and 4) the shifting theme toward "Innovation and Change in American Education." Research serials, as well as artistic serials (Beittel, 1973; Smith, 1979), impose their own dynamics on problems and actions.

The Goldhammer Contrast

A second kind of serendipity also seemed to be in the offing. In field work, at least as we practice it, the intensive literature search comes relatively late in the inquiry process. We often use it to help see our data and ideas in a broader, intellectual setting. We try to generalize our findings. We have seen this intellectual activity as the relation of the particular instance to a larger, more general, more abstract class of events (Smith, 1979; Diesing, 1971).[43] This becomes a practical task when one views conclusion sections as offering the analyst and interpreter a variety of intellectual options. One can summarize and finish with a general moral. Or one can find an analogy or metaphor which captures what one has been trying to say more explicitly all along. Further one might highlight a few of the high priority items, shucking them of encumbering detail and less significant ideas. Also one might aspire to a more abstract reconstrual or reconceptualization of the domain under analysis. Thus we found ourselves stunned in reading Keith Goldhammer's provocative little book, The School Board (1964). We remarked to ourselves that our account of Milford's recent history, heavily an account of the Board and Superintendents was quite different. In trying to isolate those differences we generated a list of a bakers' dozen items. And, as we looked at that list, we felt that our tacit knowledge had been running well out ahead of our formalized knowledge--we knew better than we realized, a not unusual phenomenon in this kind of research, as we have said. Consequently, we present Figures 48 and 49. The first is Goldhammer's Table of Contents. The second is our list. Then we explicate briefly each of the items on our list.

Insert Figures 48 and 49 About Here

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[43] Diesing (1971) goes so far as to state this activity as "the" problem of case study research.

1. The Historical and Legal Foundations of the American School Board
2. School Board and Community Relationships
3. School Board and Superintendent Relationships
4. The School Board and the Social Structure of the Schools
5. How School Boards Conduct Their Business: The Decision Making Process
6. The School Board Member
7. The Future of the American School Board

Figure 48: Chapter Titles From Goldhammer's
The School Board (1964)

1. full of people with interest, motives, and sentiments
2. who are making choices and decisions
3. which lead to actions and interactions
4. which are in a context--historical and contemporaneous
5. which gives a dynamic or processual quality
6. as a case it is interrelated and systemic
7. substantive focus is on innovation and change
8. blends/mixes/integrates the specific/concrete/ particular and the general/abstract/universal
9. focuses on the "real", the "is" rather than an external "ideal", on the "ought", or the prescriptive
10. part of the real is the "multiple ideals of the several actors and subgroups out there"
11. those ideals are often in conflict and are resolved by a variety of social/political processes
12. eventually all individuals and subgroups make up their own minds
13. ultimately integrates is/ought dichotomies in an R. N. Hare (1952) type configurated decision of principle
14. as personal experiences cumulate (and case studies are surrogate for those) one builds toward one's own syntheses of decisions of principle

Figure 49: Contrasts With Goldhammer:
Toward a New Perspective

Obviously, our intent is not to disparage Goldhammer's work, which is provocative in its brevity and clarity, but also obviously, we believe we have come out of our experience with a point of view that is quite different. We believe the point of view is not simply different in the sense of a substantive middle range theory of school boards, but that it possesses an integrated view of schooling across several levels of analysis. For instance, it encompasses the kinds of data one collects when one thinks about schools, the kinds of methods and procedures linked to those data, the kinds of accounts one renders of those phenomena—both common sense and technical, the kinds of concepts, propositions, principles, and generalizations one uses in one's thinking, and finally a root metaphor, a world view or metatheoretical perspective that is consonant with the other levels of analysis and synthesis. We believe this perspective to be the most fundamental intellectual achievement of this part of our research. As such, this perspective will also open our last volume, Thoughts Toward Theory: Grounded, Competing, and Synthetic (Volume VI). Its test will be the degree to which it can subsume the substantive findings from the other volumes and several additional perspectives from the literature of social science and education.

For now, we have used Goldhammer as a means of articulating our perspective, essentially at the level of assumption behind the kinds of data we gathered and the kinds of substantive ideas and theory we will pose shortly. This is basically our conception of metatheory. To be more specific, the first six items indicate we are making statements consonant with Peppers' (1942) contextualist world view and with Burke's (1945) dramaturgical model. Substantively we feel it puts us into the psychology of personal constructs of George Kelly (1955) and the dramaturgical sociology of Goffman (1959) as these have been brought together by Sarbin (1977) with the "emplotment metaphor". In education, such symbolic interactionists as Delamont (1976) and Hargreaves (1975) have a similar view.

Items 4, 5, and 6 suggest an historical framework and a systemic framework. In an early report on our findings, we used the term "longitudinal nested systems model" to capture our meaning. For clarity, we would note that the system's idea, for us, is not the closed, convergent, mechanical model of the operations analysts but rather the open, divergent, holistic idea suggested by the constructionists and the aestheticians and artists.

Item 7, innovation and change, is partly our attempt to deal with the initial substantive problem at hand, but also to capture planned or intentional action on the one hand and the larger category of unplanned alterations as well. In our view, these two concepts have been separated and kept too far apart.

Item 8 attempts to dissolve one of the major dichotomies of the logical positivists (Joergensen, 1951), the split between the operational, data language, and the theoretical, conceptual language in favor of a more configurational concatenated or patterned account of events. This implies a shift in the concept of explanation from a covering law model (deductive nomothetic or inductive statistical) to a pattern model (Hempel, 1965; Kaplan, 1964; Diesing, 1971).

Item 9 tries to focus on two points. The first is an attempt to be wary of judging individuals and groups, particularly from an earlier time and place, against a latter day set of standards, ideals, or ideology.[44] The second aspect of Item 9 blends with 10-13 and attempts to take a position on the is/ought dichotomy of Hume, its extension by the positivists of the early 20th Century; and its part of the dominant ideology of American educational researchers (e.g. Campbell and Stanley, 1963) if not more world wide social science.

Item 13 is fundamentally an acceptance of R. M. Hare's (1952) decision of principle. When everything has been said, which is the extended account of all the items, then one has to decide how one wants to live--and then do it. That's our understanding of his decision of principle. Finally, Item 14 individualizes and personalizes that.

As one traces out one's assumptions and the roots of the assumptions, an awesome intellectual agenda is created. While this came to focus as we read Goldhammer's book, it obviously had been brewing for some time. Equally obviously, it is a long way from being finished. For us, though, it sketches the level and kind of issues we believe are at stake at this point in our work and in our interpretation of where educational thought should be moving.

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[44] White's (1982) recent account of Charles Hubbard Judd seemed to be caught here. Judd was presented as sexist, racist, and classist, which seems valid from the data presented, but Judd was not presented in terms of the battles and issues of his time and place, the University of Chicago circa 1910-1930.

11.2 The Metatheoretical Perspective: A View From Educational Administration

Rethinking one's scientific and practical action assumptions is a fundamental problem in the nature of cognition and personal constructs. We seem to have been at this since the mid 1960's when we began what became The Complexities of an Urban Classroom (Smith and Geoffrey, 1968), the first of our participant observation or ethnographic case studies. Along the way, each of us has been involved in a series of interrelated projects.[45] The intellectual string on these issues continued to be pulled as we read monographs and articles by Griffith (1966, 1977, 1979), Greenfield (1973, 1978), Bates (1981), and others. In this section we present the Griffith and Greenfield positions.

Now our task seems to be to move away from Kensington and Milford to more "experience distant" conceptions, as Geertz (1975) uses the term and ask ourselves, what does all this mean for social scientists and educationists, our principal audiences. Within these groups it is probably educational administrators and organizational theorists who are the focal groups. Our late-in-the-day literature search turned up a half dozen key articles, monographs, and books which became foci or theses upon which we clarify and present our own perspective.

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[45] See the bibliography separately and together under Smith, Prunty, Dwyer and Kleine.

"Intellectual Turmoil in Educational Administration"

We put our subheading in quotes because it is the title of a recent article by Griffith (1978).[46] He presents a half dozen criticisms of organizational theory: 1) the need to demystify organizations, that is, formal goals may be minimally important; 2) the place of women, race, and unions in schools have been unexplained by organizational theory; 3) external events, the environment, are more important in schooling than most theories entertain; 4) that universality of organizational theory is a myth and one needs more restricted theories; 5) most organizational theory takes a monopolitic/capitalist world as a given; the neo Marxists argue alternatives; and 6) the epistomological basis of most theory is positivistic which is now being questioned on many fronts. In our view, Griffiths' is fumbling toward a new intellectual synthesis, perspective, or paradigm. It is an excruciatingly difficult task, as he says:

> I approach this task with a certain sadness, because it is not possible to do the job without challenging virtually all the premises that I have accepted during my career (1979, p. 44).

For a way out, Griffith proposes, for the field of educational administration, several next steps. First, he indicates attention must be paid to the epistomological issues. Implicitly in agreement with him, our discussion here has been prefatory, our major attack on that occurs in Volume VII, Case Study Research Methodology. Suffice it to say that our overlapping methods of history, life history, ethnography/participants observation, and return to an educational community studied fifteen years before represents a major thrust, reanalysis, and synthesis of the usual social science methodologies in studying educational events, including innovation and change in educational organizations.

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[46] In a sense this is a bit unfair to T. B. Greenfield who started the argument with Griffith, whose position is closer to our own, and whose thinking helped clarify our own as well.

Griffith's *second* step is a concern for "restricted theories" rather than a "general theory." We have long been in pursuit of a theory of education. Our special view is that the nesting or isomorphism of metatheory, formal theory, and substantive theories (miniature, middle range, and grand) as well as descriptive narratives, themes, vignettes, and episodes turns this issue on its head. The prior pages of this monograph and the current section address this concern. Another way of saying this is that the concept, "theory" is a much more complex set of ideas than most educationists have realized or entertained. Merton (1957), Mills (1959), Glaser and Strauss (1967), Smith, Dwyer, and Prunty, 1981), and Zetterberg (1965) all suggest images of theory and its problems which seem more stimulating than Griffith's "restricted theories."

His *third and fourth* steps involve specifying the piece of theory being attacked and what needs saving and what needs replacing in the sifting of past efforts. Shortly we will target a half dozen specific topics, as earlier our narrative and commentary has done. As we try to make sense of these topics, themes, and positions we believe we can analyse, subsume, and eventually synthesize them into our position. Briefly, our agenda is empirical data in support of potent stories, concepts, miniature theories, and metaphors.

His fifth point asks for more complex theories instead of over simplifications. This has never seemed a problem for us. Our special view here is that each concept, proposition, or miniature theory is always grounded in a detailed case study. The nuances of the case, its particularity and its complexity must always be preserved and presented. The ideas, the interpretation, the abstrations need to have both elegance (simplicity) and potency (make a difference) in helping one to understand the case at hand and be useful in the beginning to solve problems in the next case (or practical situation) encountered. The transfer of training issue, while hoary in educational thought, we believe is ripe for reanalysis and reinterpretation.[47]

Griffith's final, final step "rationalize or otherside dispose of the criticisms" seems a simple argument, in spite of himself and steps two, three, and four. It seems an argument for a better general theory, at least of educational organizations called schools or school districts. One always thinks one has a leg up on this or one shouldn't be writing and publishing. New critics will test how well we do here.

In our more grandiose moments we believe that implicitly we have been working through the Griffith hypothesis on intellectual turmoil in administrative and organizational theory. We believe our study of the Kensington School encased in the historical and contemporaneous context of the Milford School District and focusing on the theories of innovation and change offers the possibility for the kind of paradigmatic resolution which Griffith desires.

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[47] As sometime educational psychologists with roots in Thorndike and Woodward (1901), this one has nettled for a long time.

Greenfield's Critique of Administrative Theory[48]

When we first encountered Greenfield's 1975 paper, "Organizations as social inventions: rethinking assumptions about change" we were stimulated all through it, cheering part of the time and ultimately saying mostly--"Yes, but..." For our purposes, we respond by taking a number of his points, giving an agreeing "yes", and indicating our reservation:

1) It is possible to see organizations as created by people, often some other people--citizens or boards of education; and often according to certain rules or laws, e.g. state constitution or state department of education edicts and yet as a real object in the world.
2) Once created one can deal with the organization proactively or reactively (e.g. Spanman versus George).
3) Seeing the organization as an object is not to deny that multiple individuals and subgroups perceive "it" differently or that one group's image of the organization may be dominant.
4) Nor do we deny that this dominant image may define some goals and subgoals or may be in conflict (e.g. back to basics, discipline is a prerequisite for learning, the high school should serve both college preparation and immediate work force employability).
5) Concepts used in thinking about schools may be meaningful to varying groups. For example, to the participants, what Geertz (1975) calls "experience near" or they may be more meaningful to the observer/analyst and his community and what Geertz calls "experience distant." In our view, if the latter have potency they may become part of the conventional wisdom or common sense of a later era as Toulmin (1972) suggests.
6) Greenfield proposes "In organizations, the transforming mechanism lies within individuals." Others, who share some of the perspective (Becker, 1970) would argue it lies in actions and interactions. Still others in adjustive conditions, Blau (1956) and Etzioni (1966).
7) He seems to argue that items are an invented social reality which holds for a time and is then vulnerable to redefinition through changing demands and beliefs among people. Again, "yes, but..." some items in Milford have lasted a long time. The annual inspection of schools is a

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[48] The two main sources we have relied on are the (1975 and 1978) papers. At the time of this writing we had not had access to papers published in England.

simple illustration. It has been going on for the 65 years of recorded history of Milford. Such activity is based on a state law, which can be changed, it isn't immutable but it's been going on a long time.

8) Generalizations in any "science" vary in their generality and durability, whether they be from an inner human perspective or an outer perspective (Meehl, 1954, 1973).
9) We share a part of his belief about being prescriptive about schools; that it is a more complex activity than many "organizational doctors" appreciate. The good guys and the bad guys in Milford are not obvious to everyone.
10) At points (p. 562) he seems to be arguing against a large and varied cast of "organizational sinners"--grand theorists, O.D. types, revisionists, and single view types (what later we call after one of our particpants, "the one right way"). We, too, have problems with each of these groups.
11) He argues for an historical and comparative perspective trying to understand schools for their own sakes. And we agree. Hymes (1980) makes an interestingly similar point regarding educational ethnology.

And, among a number of other themes we pick one final methodological item which we believe accents a perspective central to our effort:

12) "In abandoning received theories about organizations in general and about schools in particular, we will have to look to a new kind of research--one that builds theory from the data rather than one that selects data to confirm theories developed apart from the data. The requirement directs us to theory from observations in specific organizations; it directs us as well to understanding the actions, purposes, and experiences of organizational members in terms that make sense to them" (pp. 563-4).

"Yes, but..." would be our final comment.

Stated alternatively, we believe we have a problem(s), several sets of data, and multiple perspectives, interpretations, abstrations, and theories that meet the spirit of many of Greenfield's aspirations when he stated in a later essay:

> Accepting organizations as invented social reality requires:
>
> 1) that theorists give up the search for the one best, single representation of social reality
> 2) ...describe the process people use in construing reality
> 3) ...be that reality with all the possibilities that the human mind reads into experience
> 4) ...theories not be seen as supreme or as the best estimate of truth even for short periods of time
> 5) ...should show the same variety, inconsistency and complexity of reality itself
> 6) ...visions of the world that people act out
> 7) ..."verification" of theory becomes as much a moral judgment as an empirical science.
>
> (Greenfield, 1978, p. 12)

The School District as an Open System: Correcting a Category Mistake

Much of the current controversy over schools, their problems and their resolutions, so we would argue, amounts to a category mistake, to borrow that delightful label from Gilbert Ryle (1949). When an individual's most basic contrual of a phenomenon is wrong, that is, exhibits a kind of structural incongruence as in the substituting parts for wholes, one has made a category mistake. One of Ryle's favorite illustrations comes from a visitor to Cambridge who has just seen the chapel at King's College or the Fitzwilliam Museum and who then asks, "But where is Cambridge University?" That question indicates the very nature and structure of the University has been misconstrued, the whole has been treated as comparable to a part. Oxford and Cambridge are structured differently from most American Universities. We believe that most analysts and theorists of educational organizations have construed schooling inappropriately for one of several reasons: 1) focusing on the classroom or school rather than the school district; 2) treating schools and school districts as equivalent structures; 3) classifying schools as formal organizations or bureaucracies; and 4) treating a school district as a formal organization.

Several years ago, before the Kensington Revisited project was conceived we had done a study of science education in the Alte Public Schools (Smith, 1977). Later we presented a paper at AERA relating some of our more general concerns. It went this way:

> ...in our study of the Alte Schools (Smith, 1977) we were moving toward a more interpersonal/social psychological stance as we described and analyzed the interrelated elementary school changes in the introduction of I.P.I. Math (Individually Prescribed Instruction in Mathematics) and the development of L.R.C.'s, Learning Resource Centers, in the Alte School district. In the summary of that report there were several paragraphs on "a pardigm of district structure and process".
>
> Some years ago a perceptive social scientist argued that one should focus one's observations on conflict, not for its obvious sensational properties but rather for its proclivity in bringing to the fore latent structures and processes. The description and analysis of IPI and the LRC's seemed to do that very well. The concluding metaphor is that: a school district is a quasi-stationary social system (equalibrium?) of contending individuals and groups with different agendas, points of view, domains of interest, and power.
>
> That may not be "news" either, although a review of texts in educational administration and organizations might be revealing. The full implications of the position are not clear, but several suggest themselves, mostly in the form of "A school district is not just..."
>
> For instance, the Alte District is not just a:
>
> 1) political system--although it is assuredly that in some respects,
> 2) formal organization with agreed upon objectives and rational means to reach those although there are elements of that, too,
> 3) community of scholars although it has many scholars (both faculty and students) who do live together reasonably well (with a few notable exceptions),

> 4) coercive institution even though pupils are required by law to be there, nor totally a remunerative organization even though teachers are paid to be there, (nor a normative organization even though most feel good about being there),
> 5) a learning system of inputs, through puts and outputs although pupils do arrive at five years, leave at 18, and in the interim learn well, by most criteria,
> 6) a professional society even though the faculty and administrators are very much professionals in the best sense of that term,
> 7) a mechanical system of replaceable parts and pieces although incumbent teachers do fill certain positions that will remain after they leave,
> 8) an organic system that grows through God's help and some simple human nurturance, and
> 9) a legal system although the district is enmeshed in federal, state, and local laws.
>
> In effect, we are arguing for a point of view of a system of self determining actors with individual points of view, prevailing interests, and patterns of talents who coalesce into factions and subgroups around issues of the moment. Each of the "nothing buts" is an important but partial way of stating the general position. Further, we are saying that many of the facets of science education in the Alte Schools, and perhaps in some other places, cannot be understood nor explained without such a paradigm. (Smith, 1977, pp. 110-111)

But this "not just a ..." phrasing of a school district has left us with the need for a more positive statement, a label, for what the school system is. Open system probably comes closest.

Beginning A Synthesis: An Earlier Position from Sociology

In an important sense, our entire seven volume report, Innovation and Change in American Education, can be taken as a synthesis of Goldhammer, Griffith, and Greenfield, or, more, grandiosily, a subsumption of their position, arguments, and debate into our position. Here we point to a very briefly but elegantly stated sociological position which has served as a major guideline for us. In his three page preface to Sociological Work (1970), Howard Becker made these assertions:

> 1. I conceive of society as collective action...
> 2. ...and sociology as the study and the forms of collective action.
> 3. When you think of society as collective action, you know that any talk of structures or factors in the end refer to some notion of people doing things together, which is what sociology studies.
> 4. If you see society as people doing things together, then you see the necessity of studying social life at first hand...lengthy periods of participant observation... detailed unstructured interviewing.
> 5. If you study collective action, you cannot avoid the knowledge that everything—every person, every group, every action, every event—has a history.
> 6. ...leads inevitably to a conception of process.
> 7. Likewise, you cannot avoid the knowledge that events are transactional or interactional, that you understand what one person does by knowing the network of interaction he operates in ...
>
> and 8. I have tried in my own work to take those ideas seriously, accepting and following through on their implications even when that requires doing violence to accepted notions of how the world is or how sociologists ought to study it.
>
> (1970, pp. V and VI)

That stands as a prior and major metatheoretical stance which we find now congruent with our attempts to look at the Kensington School and the Milford School District. Later (in Volumes VI and VII) we will extend this position, and ours by reference to C. Wright Nulls' provocative little book, The Sociological Inagination (1959).

11.3 Innovation and Change: A Systemic Perspective

Multiple Actors

Our brilliant analytic generalizations seem to keep appearing as truisms. A systemic view of change in schooling is simple: at one time or another the education of Milford's children changed because of action taken by almost every part of the system. Student protest--and a law suit--altered the dress code. Teacher demands regarding salary, welfare and working conditions gradually shifted Board policy and action.

Principals at times were in severe conflict with the Superintendents, and, at other times, they wrote "institutional plans" which shaped school programs and organizational structures, at least for a while. On other, and many, occasions, Superintendents had their way and the school system changed or changes were resisted--McBride did not want the union in Milford and Nussbaum was on his way. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the Board "moved, seconded, and passed" item after item. A high school was opened in the late 1920s, new schools were built, and others were closed. The high school curriculum went from four units in 1927 to over a hundred in 1980.

A major part of our story has indicated that actors and groups of actors outside the Milford District have been major determinants of innovation and change in Milford. Local, state, and national governments in their legislature, executive, and judicial branches have each had their say at different times and places on different events.

Units from professional educational organizations and from colleges and universities and private foundations, whether in the form of investigating committees, research and development surveys and investigations or consultants have had profound effect on Milford. Neither the buildings that were built nor the personnel who staff them have been left untouched.

Throughout our account, the people who make up the community have been clustered and categorized by various labels and concepts which we generally have called demographic influences. The very number of families and children has changed dramatically over the years. The religious and racial composition of the community, the socio economic status of the families, and such items as their transiency have exerted dramatic effects.

Multiple Processes

Beyond the analysis of the school district into a series of discernible parts, clusters of actors, all of whom at one time or another brought about change in the district, a systemic analysis would suggest multiple processes of change. In Figure 50 we have quickly listed "a rag bag of social processes."

Insert Figure 50 About Here

Such a collection seems to raise several key hunches. First, innovation and change must be relocated in the core of the human condition, the processes involved as people go about solving their problems, carrying on with their lives. Second, anything less is to return to overly simple accounts of the reality. Third, some clustering of processes, ordering them in terms of prevalence and importance, and beginning to move intellectually, both analytically and synthetically, seems important.

The Policy Handbook: A Concluding Illustration

Our monograph is full of illustrations, yet we cannot resist one more as a concluding item regarding the systemic perspective we are trying to build. Of all the innovations introduced by Dr. Spanman as

individual initiative
conflict
negotiation
bargaining
cooperation
voting
compromising
pressure groups
squeaky wheels
discussion
debate
legal advice
spying
open hearings
outside experts
threats
planning
borrowing of ideas
accidents
resignations
strikes

Figure 50: A Rag Bag List of Social Processes In Innovation and Change

Superintendent, the one that has lasted the longest and been the most highly regarded, is the Policy Handbook. It seemed to have several critical features:

1. Wide scope
2. A logical structure of categories, subcategories, and specific items
3. An integration both generally and specifically with State Laws
4. A coding or indexing of items permitting easy access
5. A one item per page looseleaf format which permitted easy change and replacement
6. It seemed useful to everyone (Board, Central Office Staff, teachers, parents, lawyers, etc.) in the District, especially when conflicts arose.

In a preliminary way, Figure 51 indicates the context of the Development of the Policy Handbook. A number of state statutes constrain local school districts. Milford has had a history of uncodified or partially codified policies. During the early 1960's, under Spanman's initiative, the Central Office Staff, with Board discussions and conscensus, worked toward a codification of policies. Subsequent to these efforts, the Board approved formally, each item in the Blue Policy Book. From that point it became the baseline for innovation and change in the District.

Insert Figure 51 About Here

In later discussion in Board minutes the Policy Handbook "as Baseline" returned in several quotes. Figure 52 lays out those elements. An appropriate metaphor might be a view of the Blue Book as the Board's gyroscope.

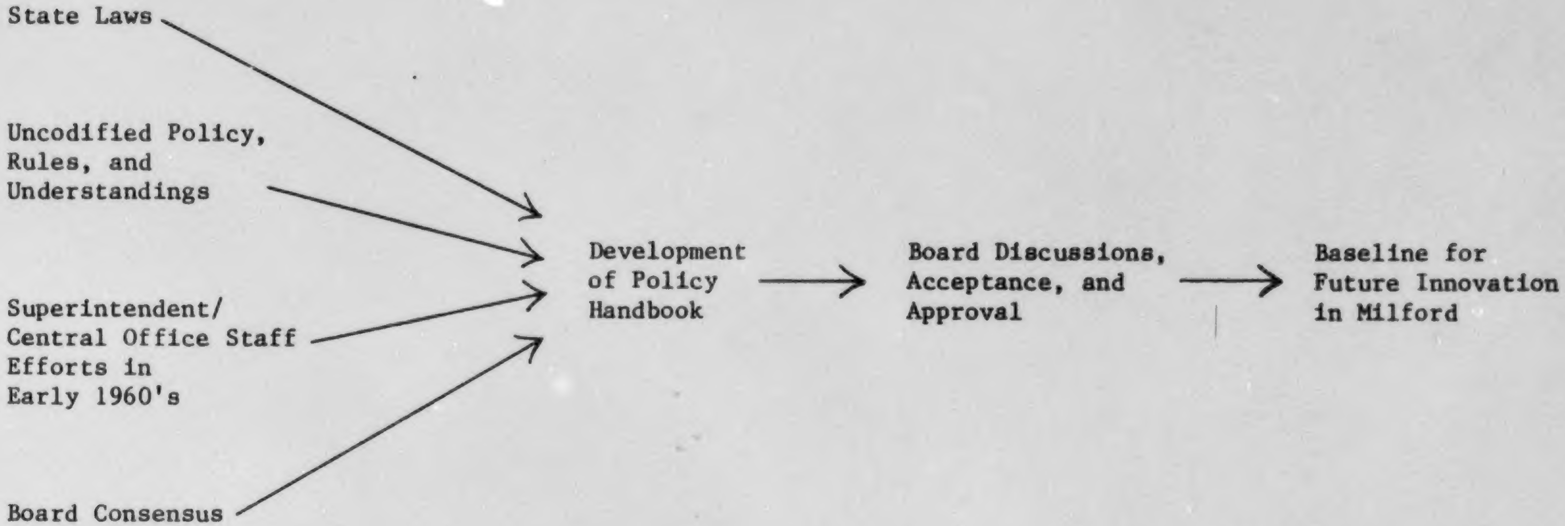
State Laws
Uncodified Policy, Rules, and Understandings
Superintendent/ Central Office Staff Efforts in Early 1960's
Board Consensus
Development of Policy Handbook
Board Discussions, Acceptance, and Approval
Baseline for Future Innovation in Milford

Figure 51: A Preliminary View of the Policy Handbook as an Innovation

Insert Figure 52 About Here

To elaborate the point we emphasize here that the innovation brought about the clear formalization and specification of policies and then interlocked with all sorts of later changes and attempts to change. In 1975, such diverse items as procedures for reduction in the force of teachers and the policy on "married students" were raised, considered, and in the latter case, revised around a specific problem faced by the Board.

But the most fascinating part of the story of Milford's Policy Handbook as it pertains to a systemic view of innovation and change resides in the more detailed story of its genesis. Figure 53 contains this analysis.

Insert Figure 53 About Here

Briefly it amounts to three coalescing strands. Southern City, Spanman's prior school system, had been wrestling with similar policy codification problems. Two educationists, Davies and Brickell, had a long research serial on school boards dating back to the late 1940's and early 1950's (Davies and Hosler, 1949, Davies and Prestwood, 1951), which culminated in a policy handbook sold commercially. Southern City bought the system while Spanman was an administrator there. Milford, as we have indicated, had its own history of policy codification problems. These three strands came together when Spanman became Superintendent in

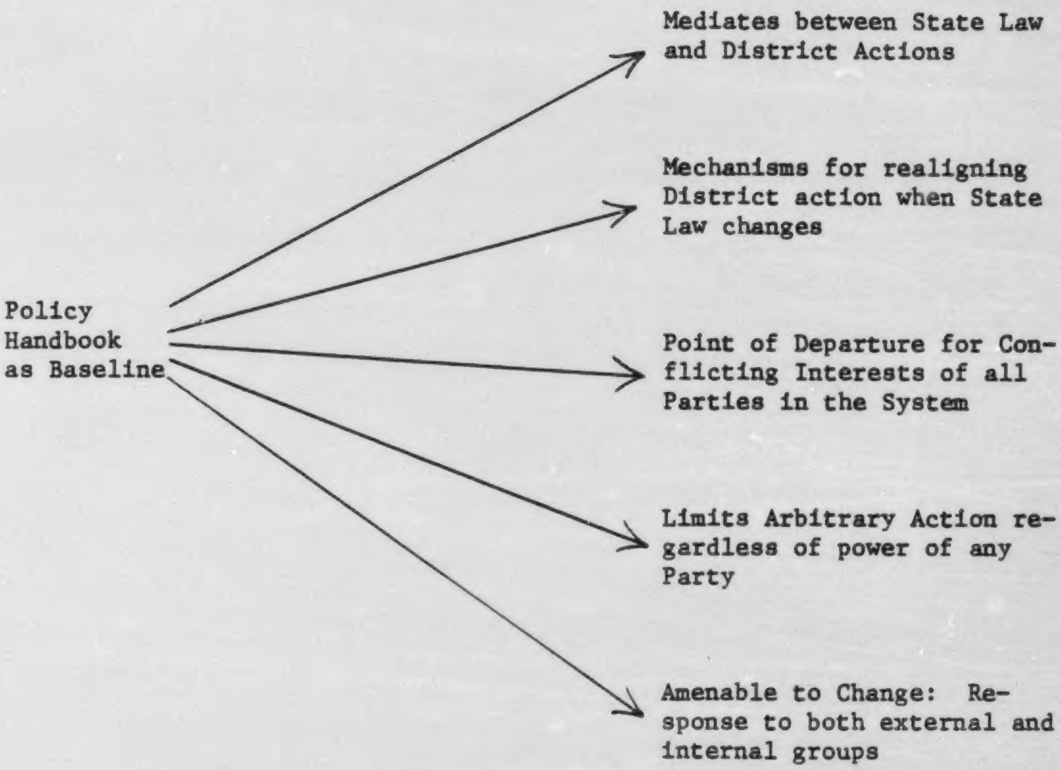
Policy Handbook as Baseline
Mediates between State Law and District Actions
Mechanisms for realigning District action when State Law changes
Point of Departure for Conflicting Interests of all Parties in the System
Limits Arbitrary Action regardless of power of any Party
Amenable to Change: Response to both external and internal groups

Figure 52: A More Analytic View of the Consequences of the Policy Handbook

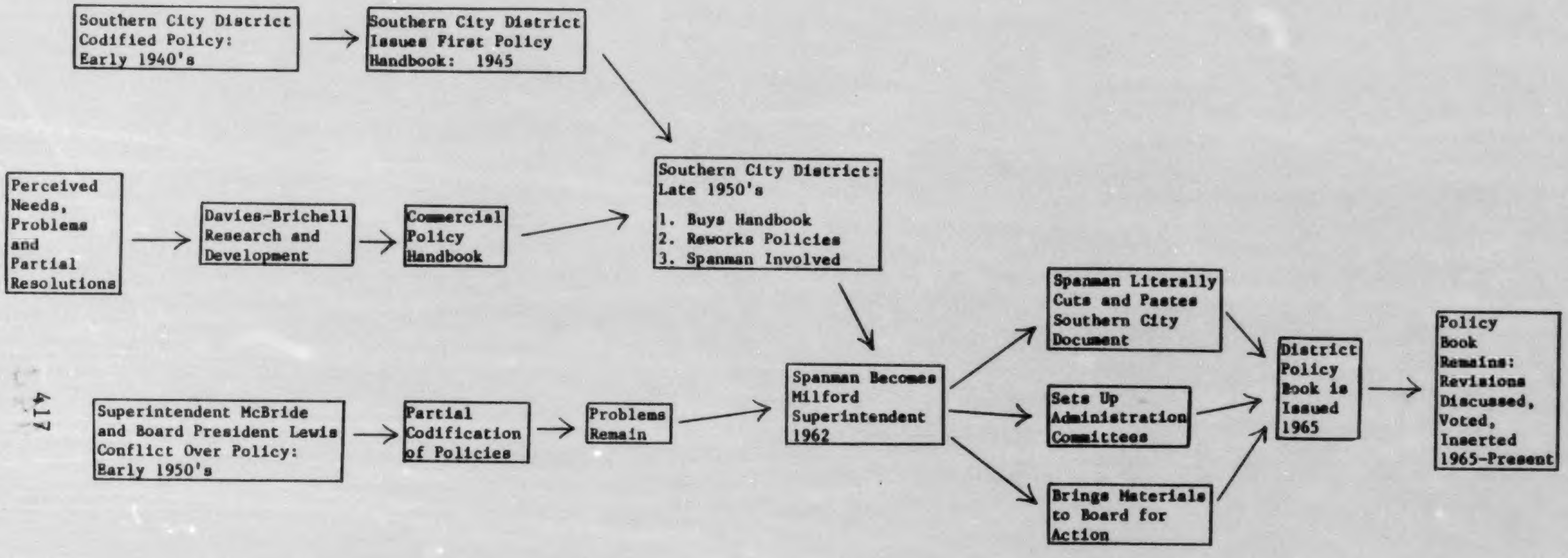
Southern City District Codified Policy: Early 1940's
Southern City District Issues First Policy Handbook: 1945
Perceived Needs, Problems and Partial Resolutions
Davies-Brichell Research and Development
Commercial Policy Handbook
Southern City District: Late 1950's
1. Buys Handbook
2. Reworks Policies
3. Spanman Involved
Superintendent McBride and Board President Lewis Conflict Over Policy: Early 1950's
Partial Codification of Policies
Problems Remain
Spanman Becomes Milford Superintendent 1962
Spanman Literally Cuts and Pastes Southern City Document
Sets Up Administration Committees
Brings Materials to Board for Action
District Policy Book is Issued 1965
Policy Book Remains: Revisions Discussed, Voted, Inserted 1965-Present

Figure 53: Origins of Milford's Policy Handbook

Milford. The Milford scheme became conceptually a simple revision of Southern City's Book, although practically an immense amount of work to fit it to the local Milford situation.

Conclusion

In a recent paper, Ernest House (1979) develops a threefold perspective on theories of curriculum innovation:

1) the technological
2) the political
3) the cultural

and to this we would add tentatively, a fourth:

4) the systemic

Our analysis and argument suggests that the systemic is a broader, more encompassing view which has a place for technological views (the Davies-Buchell scheme), for political views (the shift in superintendents from McBride to Spanman to George) and for the cultural views (the community context of Milford).

11.4 A Potpourri of Emerging and Necessary Substantive Concepts

Here we select just a few central concepts which seem critical for our developing systemic theory of innovation and change in schools. Most grow out of our "rag bag" list of processes and most focus on a piece of educational or social science literature. This kind of late-in-the-day literature review suggests a major procedural or methodological, if not epistomological point. We found these items stimulating for thinking about, analyzing, and generalizing from our case records, data, and story. But, and, in addition, we found our case on occasion contradicting, criticizing, or altering, or possibly slightly shading or shifting the interpretations presented by the original author.

This tactic moves us toward a possibly different role for educational and social science knowledge--a less authoritative one, in a sense, as Lindblom and Cohen (1979) argue and as we have commented upon earlier (Smith, Dwyer, and Prunty, 1981). In a more positive phrasing we are hoping our images, ideas, and metaphors will be illuminating or liberating in facilitating choices made by individuals and groups of people working together. In our readers, the kind of expressions we are hoping for are those such as, "That's a new one for me", "I hadn't thought about that before", "Did they really do it that way?", "We'd better watch out for that", "If they did it, we should be able to", "They really caught hell on that one", "Let's try it this way this time", "That seems practical", "That's a neat idea, I wonder what it means for our district?"

Finally, our concepts try to catch "the flow of the system", or a kind of "pattern of the system." These ideas and themes are those that have stood out, seemed more important, been more ubiquitous, or perhaps seem more generalizable to other districts. If we were statisticians, if there were a single criterion, and if our domain could be mapped that way, these concepts would be the variables with the large Beta weights. They would account for more of the variance. When different individuals and subgroups are trying to "cover their asses", "gain political advantage", "do the right thing for the children of Milford", "promote cognitive learning", or a variety of other long and short term goals, the maps take on a different texture and quality. So we present a potpourri of "emerging" and "necessary" substantive concepts. One day, perhaps, they'll all fit together into a tidy structure.[49]

Environment as Longitudinal Nested Systems

If we needed convincing that a concept of environment was important in a theory of innovation and change we found it in Milford. Our earlier study of Homan's The Human Group (1950) suggested it as an imperative. If anything, we have differentiated this conception by equating environment with context, then breaking context into historical and contemporaneous. The historical became longitudinal, perhaps in keeping with our more psychological origins and methodological or epistemological orientation. The contemporaneous context became a series of nested systems and enabled us to move from the most local of local systems, e.g., a classroom in the Kensington School, to the Kensington School itself, to the Milford District, and out to national systems.[50]

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[49] Here too we may be caught in our origins in psychology, educational psychology, and principles of teaching. For sociologists, political scientists, and economists, much of our novelty may be "old hat."

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[50] This conception appears in more detail in Volume I, Chronicling the Milford District and in Smith, Prunty, and Dwyer (1981). Bailey and Mosher (1968) and Wirt and Kirst (1982) present somewhat similar but more structural and short term processual models.

These nested systems typically were social systems with all the problems of goals, activities, political interests or sentiments, varied kinds of interactions (e.g., power, conflict, cooperation) and sets of norms, rules and laws.

The systems had other characteristics. The community system in which the Milford School District resided could be described in demographic terms as well. In Milford we found this view of the environment overwhelmingly important. One of the advantages of historical or longitudinal research, at least as we have approached it here, is that the actions, the style, or the role of the several superintendents can be juxtaposed to a template of the shifting social context over the years. Among the multiple aspects of social context, one of the most potent and illuminating has been the "demographic changes." We have discerned and abstracted several of these; concretely they seemed to have mixed together in different combinations at different times. In turn, we speak to:

1) the expanding and contracting, growth and decline, of school population
2) the shift from rural to suburban to urban
3) the rising and falling of socio economic status or social class of a community
4) the shift in racial and ethnic groups as minority and majority populations
5) the degree of transiency--in and out--of families in the community and children in school[51]

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[51] For the student of methodology, some of these are linear, others are curvilinear, and still others seem almost changes from near absence to presence. Further, they are not uniformily distributed across the district.

The rural to suburban shift which occurred through Briggs' and Grey's tenure as Superintendents and the early part of McBride's tenure was accompanied by gradual changes in expansion of population and by gradually rising socio economic status. Modernization seemed to be the keynote. The building of the first high school and the accompanying expansion in curriculum were major issues in Mrs. Briggs difficulties and the first of the major assualts on Mr. McBride.

In the 1950's, McBride was caught especially in the tidal wave of pupils and school expansion. The school-a-year building program overwhelmed every other agenda. His earlier successes in securing Federal building and WPA funds in the 1930's gave way to his advancing age and his inability to cope with a middle class population demanding more of its schools than a simple reproducing of itself as a rural and village setting and community.

The forces of modernization, the last of the building for the population surge, and the momentary control of the Board by a more cosmopolitan faction brought Spanman front and center to the District. But the District was lower middle working class to middle middle class--the waves of new housing had brought by the thousands, predominantly small two and three bedroom frame homes sometimes with a carport and sometimes with an attached garage on small 50-70 foot lots to Milford. Spanman's concept of excellence ran ahead of the community's concept.

George's early years were characterized by a stable school population. The forces of expanding population, and its corollaries of rising school budgets, and passing bond issues and tax levies, were gone.

His more reactive rather than proactive style seemed to fit. The conservatives who won the Board away from the Spanman faction in the early 1960's have remained in control (but with a critical "3-3 split" later).

But Superintendent George, in his later and more recent years, from 1974 to the present, faced a different social context. First, the District began to contract in size more rapidly than predicted and almost as fast as it had expanded in the 1950's (from roughly 10,000 youngsters to 6,000). Schools were beginning to close, not at the rate of one a year but at the rate of one every two or three years. Further, the District's racial composition was shifting dramatically from 99% White to 60% White and 40% Black. Beyond these racial differences, the schools took on an urban cultural look as well as a slightly lower socio economic face. The apartments in the District provided temporary homes for many single parent families and transiency increased.

Our contention, as social interactionists, is simple. The environmental context poses different problems for the Board and the Superintendent. At different times it supports some styles and ways of working and tends to make other styles and ways of working more difficult. Not only are the dynamics and processes of schooling altered, but very complicated shifts in evaluation, the "good" and "bad" of schools, superintendents, boards, occur.[52]

In an earlier analysis of teaching (Brock and Smith, 1981) we used the concept, "givens" to talk about some parts of the educational world that a teacher takes as relatively constant and which needed to be worked with or worked around if the teacher was to cope. In a sense we believe these demographic contextual factors are "givens" for the Board and the Superintendent. It's not that they don't change, for our record is clear that they do—over the longer haul. But that at different times, one needs to stand back, both at the larger picture, and say, "this is the way things are" regarding expansion, contraction or population stability, rural-suburban-urban population, racial and ethnic population, and socio economic status. Then the question becomes, "What kind of education does the community want?", "What will it support financially?", and "How can we do a 'professional job' in that context?" We suppose it's what the cliche "facing reality" intends.

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[52] Shifts in other parts of the environment, the Federal Government, laws, courts, etc., we pick up later.

Politics

For many years the word "politics" has been anathema to many professional educators and citizens. Twenty years ago, in a trenchant essay, Eliot (1959) made this comment:

> Surely it is high time to stop being frightened by a word. Politics includes the making of governmental decisions, and the effort or struggle to gain or keep the power to make these decisions. Public schools are part of government. They are political entities. They are a fit subject for study by political scientists. (1959, p. 1035)

Sixty-five years of Board minutes, agendas, letters, and reports seem to say "amen" to Eliot's admonition. He ties this view to the larger moral and ethical base of liberal democracy:

> If all the significant political factors are revealed, the people can more rationally and effectively control the

> governmental process. Such at least must be the faith of the political scientist who, devoted to the search for truth, believes that "what can be" is no less the truth than "what is." (p. 1036)

If one takes this stance then immediately one finds, as we did, that relevant individuals and groups--Mothers' Circle, Milford NEA, Boards and Board factions, Superintendents, Central Office Administrators, Principals, Community Athletic Associations, Juvenile Courts, Mayors and State Representatives, District Judges--are all in the activity of schooling. Secondly, if one adds a value premise regarding democratic government, as we would, then, following Eliot, the politics of education ought to be an important domain of activity.

Our interlocked story of Superintendent McBride's departure, Superintendent Spanman's arrival, controversial four years, and departure, and Superintendent George's arrival (and his 15 years tenure) can be seen as a set of political events in which the citizens of Milford were deciding on the kind of education they wanted for their children and youth. Beyond the emotional labeling of good guys and bad guys, fundamental issues of localism versus nationalism, of traditional curriculum versus individualized curriculum, of conformity versus individual freedom for pupils, were at stake. In our view, well informed and well intentioned citizens could legitimately come down on either side of those issues as they relate to important ways of living. And, in Milford, they did. And, as some of our quotes from Board minutes and letters to the Board indicate, it was often with strong and poignant emotion as factions won and lost and as policies remained the same or changed.

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[53] Among others, Wirt and Krist (1982, p. VI) accent an explosion of the kind of intellectual effort Eliot (1959) was calling for.

In Eliot's view, politics, who gets what, when and where, runs through all the important domains--curriculum, facilities, personnel, and financing. And so it was in Milford. His final generalization is:

> ...the realization that public policy in education is the product of discernible professional/lay interaction (sometimes conflict) at different governmental levels, may serve as a unifying conception. (1959, p. 1051)

To those who want prescriptions, this may seem too general and too vague. It fits our general view. The lesson for the board member, the superintendent, the teacher, the patron, is simple--a contest is always in the background, if not front and center. Some years it is hotter and more painful. And in some years it's not just "professional/lay interaction" but multiple individual and subgroups within each category. That's what "interaction (sometimes conflict)" is about.

Along the way, Eliot makes a point about difficulties in generalizing from research in schooling:

> There are too many school districts, no two of them exactly alike. (p. 1045)

We believe this is an instance of one more general epistemological concerns, our accent on the case study vehicle, and our concerns for multiple kinds of results--facts, stories or vignettes, concepts, hypotheses, models and metaphors. In our view, the concept of politics is highly generalizable, a sensitizing concept as Bruyn (1966) would label it, and one that the student or practitioner of innovation and change can not do without.

Sometimes the citing of literature in educational research seems the creation of strawmen, positions that one can easily flog on the way to a superficial point. In ethnographic research, this is decidedly not the case. On several occasions, over the years we have found the work of Professor Neal Gross compellingly clear, a characteristic which has helped us make our own work clearer by comparing and contrasting it with his.[54] This time we work off of his provocative little book, Who Runs Our Schools (1958). He states an initial premise with which we are in strong agreement:

> A basic premise of this book is that superintendents and school board members, because they run our schools, are at the heart of any educational problem and its solution. (1958, p.2)

Our first line of analysis concerns the implicit theoretical model underlying the point of view. To do this, with a slight rewording of titles we have organized the chapters in Gross' book into the outline presented as Figure 54.

Insert Figure 54 About Here

In our view, Gross presents essentially a technological or organizational perspective on the schools. If Eliot's perspective on politics is correct, and our position is essentially congruent with his, then we have major questions about the narrowness of Gross' position particularly as it deals with the question, "Who runs our schools?" The language of obstacles--what hold school superintendents back? (Chapter 2), who

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[54] For example, see our treatment of Gross (1977) in Smith and Dwyer, Federal Policy in Action (1980).

1. Obstacles as a Perspective

Chapter 2	What holds school superintendents back?
Chapter 3	Who blocks?
Chapter 4	Who supports?
Chapters 4 & 5	Who applies pressures to whom?

2. The Evaluation Perspective

Chapter 8	How good a job are school board members doing?
Chapter 9	How good a job are school superintendents doing?
Chapter 10	Agreements and Disagreements
Chapter 11	Differing views of school board members
Chapter 12	What can be done?

Figure 54: A partial reinterpretation of Gross' *Who Runs Our Schools?*

blocks the schools? (Chapter 3), who supports the schools? (Chapter 4), and who applies what kind of pressure? (Chapter 5) and to whom? (Chapter 6) assumes that the goals, subgoals, and means are in basic agreement. In Milford--the high school as college prep versus the high school as preparatory for a job, the curriculum as individualized versus the curriculum as text books and basics, pupil freedom or pupil conformity to social standards in dress, attendance, smoking, and teacher militancy, activism and professionalism, and local neighborhood schools were all highly controversial. Various individuals and groups saw themselves as improving the public schools when they took a stand one way or another.

In what we have called "the evaluative perspective", we are arguing that Gross remains with his technical or organizational perspective. After presenting a number of key items in which Boards and Superintendents disagree (e.g., giving numerical grades on report cards in elementary schools), the final generalization is this:

> These data strongly suggest that in many school systems superintendents and school boards do not agree on the crucial problem of who is supposed to do what, on what is policy making and what is administration. It seems a reasonable prediction that a corporation will be headed for trouble if its president and board of directors disagree over the basic ground rules for their relationships and over policies and programs. A similar prediction may be made for school systems in which these conditions hold. (Our Italics) (p. 125)

But a school district is not just (or mainly?) a business corporation, rather, it is a political entity, and political entities are supposed to mediate the political interests of its citizenry, and ...

In conclusion, when we say that "politics" is an important sensitizing concept in thinking about innovation and change in schooling we are saying that analyses and interpretations which leave it out, which construe the "who runs the schools?" question alternatively have a different map or template than ours. To judge one as better than another asks for evaluative criteria. In our view, the most important one is potency--whose perspective will speak to more of the more important problems (as perceived by some group).[55]

In one of our preliminary analyses of our data, after describing the episode of change in Superintendents from McBride to Spanman to George in our chronicle of the Milford School District, we concluded with the question:

> One might ask, is our episode one of school chaos, vulnerability, or political democracy?

Implicitly we were challenging (at least in rural and suburban Milford) the "vulnerability theme" raised by Callahan in his book, Education and the Cult of Efficiency. As he says in his preface:

> What was unexpected was the extent, not only of the power of the business-industrial groups, but the strength of the business idiology in the American culture on the one hand and the extreme weakness and vulnerability of school men, especially school administrators, on the other. (1962, Preface)

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[55] Lest we hoist ourselves on one of our own petards, recall that the mid and late 1950's was the beginning the the "theory movement in educational administration," with its implicit logical proactivist epistemology and its substantive roots in such theorists as Barnard (1938) and Simon (1942). The Greenfields (1975 and 1978) of the world are a recent phenomenon in educational administration. And even today some scholars ignore the whole enterprise (Wirt and Kirst, 1982, p. 26).

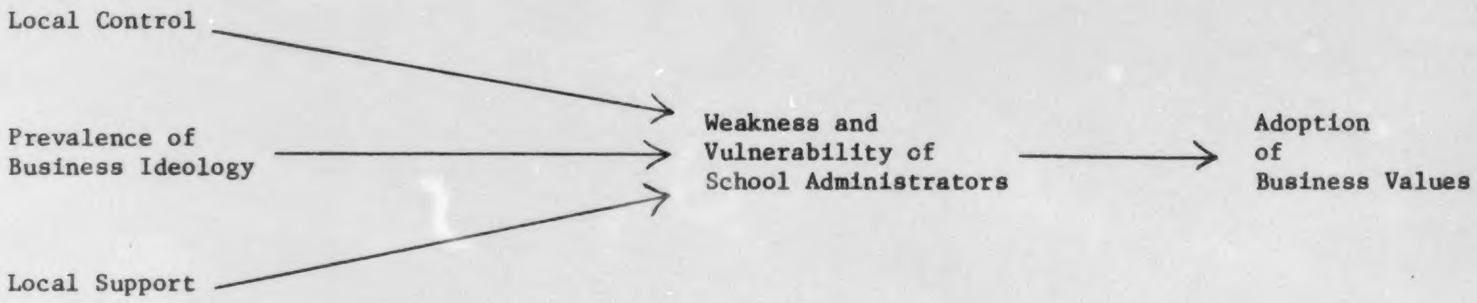
Local Control
Prevalence of Business Ideology
Local Support
Weakness and Vulnerability of School Administrators
Adoption of Business Values

Figure 55: Our View of Callahan's (1962) Vulnerability Thesis

Later, in the same paragraph he uses words such as "capitulation", "appeasing their critics", and "maintain their positions". The theoretical position he seemed to be presenting we diagramed in a form presented as Figure 5.

Insert Figure 55 About Here

Our analysis, to this point, has suggested that "vulnerability" might be too strong a term. Politics, political interests, and conflict seem closer to the mark in our school district. McBride's 27 years, Spanman's controversial four years, and George's now more than 15 year tenure seem apart from his more "national view".

Further, our view of "business' business" in education has been less an ideological one as Callahan (1962) saw it or as some of the more recent critical theorists, e.g., Sharp (1981) and Kallos (1981) might phrase it. Rather we have been persuaded more by overwhelming ever-presence and mundaneness of "business' business". Perhaps we are more accepting and/or less perceptive. Or perhaps as the local people might say, "we have had other fish to fry." In the last year (1979-80) a number of items arose which continued to illustrate a portion of our position. We present just a few to further illustrate our point.

First, the Board hassled with bidders on blacktopping a parking area and on daily milk deliveries. Low bidders sometimeswant to change arrangements and negotiate savings with the Board. These business events never end.

Second, a long discussion (9/79) occurred over a new piece of accounting equipment. The company had indicated it would do the high school scheduling and save the District $8,000 paid to a local computer firm. The $8,000 saving would cost the Board $11,180.00 and they weren't happy. The company wouldn't budge. The Board voted to table the item and contact the school attorney. The debate on the accounting office equipment returned in January, 1980. A series of split votes on buying and leasing occurred. Finally after some guarantees regarding the equipment by a company representative, the Board voted for a lease with option to buy contract.

Third, late in September, 1979, bills were considered and paid, and the Board borrowed $100,000 for the operating fund. Leaking roofs continued to receive attention and the local roofing company negotiated to pay one third of the costs for damages occurring in their earlier work. A local dance studio received permission to use the Junior High cafeteria. Additional teachers' contracts were altered by steps and scales, and for Tax Sheltered Annuity programs.

And finally, later in the month of November, 1979, the Board received the financial statement for October and held it for regular auditing. The November bills to be paid were received. Contracts were awarded for senior diplomas ($1.91/unit) for three years, and for printing elementary diplomas (1,004.98) The siege of problems over leaking roofs, plaster and floor damage, and surveillance of repairs from the Board's long term architectural consultants received another round of attention. A Junior High pupil's semester suspension for possession of a controlled substance was upheld. Two teachers resigned, one returned from maternity leave, and several additional contract changes were made. The Board approved an early retirement incentive program for 1980-81.

In part, it seems to us that we are "trying to have our cake and eat it, too." The work of Eliot, Gross, and Callahan represents some of the best research and thinking in education and the social sciences. The Milford case suggests different emphases and accents around the concept of "politics." We believe this altered emphasis is one of our most important findings.

Ill Defined and Entangled Problems

Insights come from many sources. In a series of discussions with Professor David Grodon of Ben Gurion University, Beersheva, Israel, he put us on to Reitman's (1965) concept of ill defined problems. By this he means that many problems, often those involved in creativity, have no well accepted criterion or set of criteria which enable one to decide when the problem has been resolved. His analytical illustration is a case study in music, a composer creating a fugue, or as he delightfully calls it, "the autobiography of a fugue." In the protocol reporting on the activity comments appear such as "theme", "countersubject", "pianistic", "the proper consistency of tension", and "Yes, that will probably work." In Reitman's analysis he speaks of "constraints upon the problem solution", "open constraint", "the sequence of transformations", "constant proliferation", "abstract new transformational formulas", "particularization of components", "conventions", and so forth. We are reminded both methodologically and substantively of Beittel's Alternatives for Art Education Research (1973). He extends the importance of both the art and aesthetic metaphor and the utility of the conception of ill defined problems.

It is our contention that most social problems, problems involving people, are ill defined problems in this sense and that many if not most of the more technical or technological systems developed for problem solving do not work in the more classical or traditional sense as boards and superintendents try to solve these problems.

Another obvious truism, perhaps, is that the practical problems faced by leaders of all kinds--board presidents, superintendents, CTA presidents come in almost hopelessly mixed tangles and snarls. As true as that seems, it also seems that little attention has been devoted to the intellectual action, and political efforts needed to cope with such mixed issues.

For instance, as our narrative indicated, the Autumn of 1974 illustrates our point beautifully. These strands seem involved: 1) School enrollments were declining, a Housing Committee was developing an analysis and set of proposals regarding school closings; 2) The MNEA was stirring much more actively. They continued the press for an outside NEA professional consultant/negotiator to meet with them and with the Board; 3) The community had not passed higher tax levies or board levies in a decade, in spite of yeoman efforts by a variety of professional and lay groups; 4) A "Concerned Citizens" group had collected 2,100 signatures on a petition to keep the Grant School open; and 5) One of the leaders of the Concerned Citizens' group later became a successful candidate for the Board and was viewed also as a "teachers' candidate." The intellectual and political problems can be seen in each group having a leader, some elected, some appointed. The agendas and strategies of the different groups sometimes and on some issues overlapped with one or another of the groups. Our question is--how does one begin to think about such a mixture?

An earlier analysis of "problem" in the context of field study research and the "problems" it tackles led us toward the complicated conception that we present as Figure 56.

Insert Figure 56 About Here

Essentially we argued that a problem involves a present state, a preferred state, and a gap between the two. Further, we argued each of those has a structure, an historical context and a contemporaneous context.[56] The conceptualization of each of these can occur from multiple perspectives at multiple levels of abstraction. The resolutions, in turn, can be cast in varied forms.

At other points in this monograph we have alluded to the wealth of problems contained in the "preferred" category. Values and "oughts" have once again permeated the structure of the "is" language. Our

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[56] These items have influenced the nature, conceptualization, research strategy and interpretation of the Kensington Revisited project.

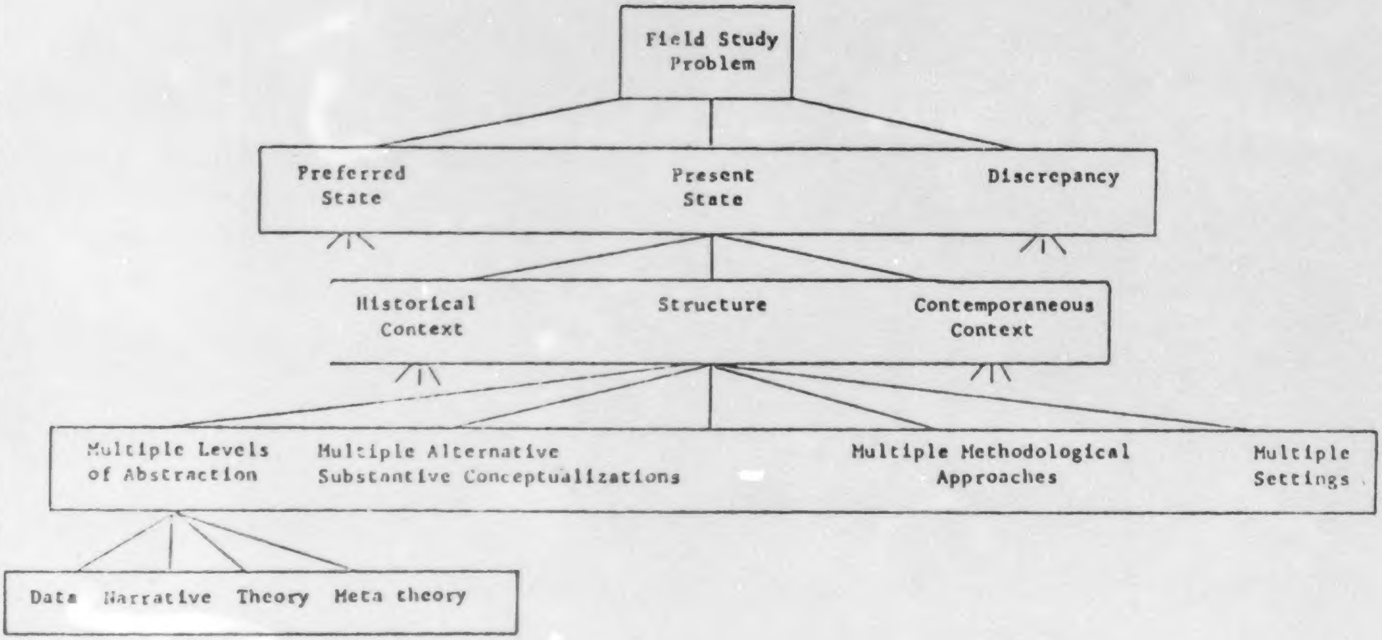

Field Study Problem
Preferred State
Present State
Discrepancy
Historical Context
Structure
Contemporaneous Context
Multiple Levels of Abstraction
Multiple Alternative Substantive Conceptualizations
Multiple Methodological Approaches
Multiple Settings
Data
Narrative
Theory
Meta theory

Figure 56: The Field Study Problem as a Concatenation of Elements (Smith, 1981, p. 94)

systemic theory suggests that different individuals and subgroups might hold very different views of each of these elements; our data clearly supports the conjecture.

We are now making two further points. First, most schooling problems faced by the board and administrative staff are "ill defined problems", that is, there is no clear criterion for the acceptability of a solution. Second, each problem is "almost hopelessly" entangled with other problems. This entanglement creates further problems, meta problems, in deciding on agendas and priorities in order to cut in on the tangle. Even some of the most interesting practical problem solving research pales in the heat of such difficulties (Blom and Broder, 1950; Maier, 1963; Maier, et.al., 1957).

For us, one of the major contributions of this study regarding problems and problem solving is the image of Superintendent Spanman's use of practical reasoning in the service of innovation. His intellectual house was not only always in order but usually two steps ahead of everyone elses. His goals and priorities, phrased in several levels of both abstractness and concreteness, his reasons, his view of difficulties, his understanding of time, place and circumstances, and his search for imaginative options were always followed by an action recommendation. He had a fascinating way of dealing with entangled and ill defined problems.

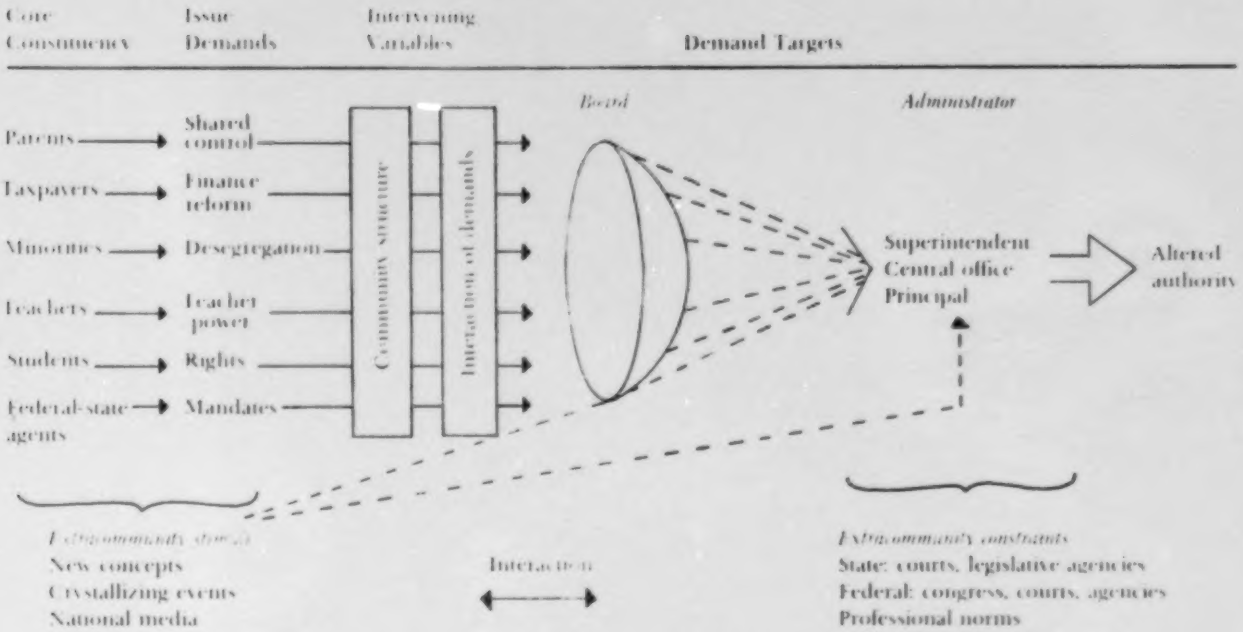
Social Conflict

A potpourri of concepts which includes "nested systems", "politics" and "ill defined and entangled social problems", almost by definition is a prelude to a concept of social conflict. In our view, and as we elaborate more intensively in our discussion of religion and school reform in Volume V, Educational Innovators Then and Now, one of the most important legacies of most religions is the pervasive beliefs about a utopian "one right way", as one of our teachers labeled it. Along with educational historians such as Cremin (1980) we feel such a view has been a large part of American education for the past two centuries. Also, we see it as being a major factor in Western civilization as well as American society. One of the consequences of such a view is seeing conflict, disagreement, and debate only as a temporary instrumental problem if not a more basic sin, one which can be resolved when everyone "understands" or "knows the facts." When important interests, sentiments, and values are in conflict they are not resolved so easily.

A contrasting perspective and one more in accord with our data and interpretation is Wirt and Kirst's (1982) concept of turbulence--conflict which has breadth in scope and depth in crucial issues. Their paradigm for turbulent school politics as conflict is presented as Figure 57.

Insert Figure 57 About Here

Their core constituencies are our relevant subgroups and individuals. Their issue demands tend to be more general and abstract phrasings of our issues. While the Milford parents are interested in shared control,


Core Constituency
Issue Demands
Intervening Variables
Demand Targets
Board
Administrator
Parents
Taxpayers
Minorities
Teachers
Students
Federal-state agents
Shared control
Finance reform
Desegregation
Teacher power
Rights
Mandates
Community structure
Interaction of demands
Superintendent
Central office
Principal
Altered authority
Extracommunity stimuli
New concepts
Crystallizing events
National media
Interaction
Extracommunity constraints
State: courts, legislative agencies
Federal: congress, courts, agencies
Professional norms

Source: Reprinted with permission from Frederick M. Wirt, "Political Turbulence and Administrative Authority in the Schools," in Louis H. Masotti and Robert L. Lineberry, eds., *The New Urban Politics*, p. 63. Copyright 1976, Ballinger Publishing Company.

Figure 57: Paradigm of Turbulent School Politics

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so is everyone else in the system; teacher power seems an identical concept with a different label. But in Milford the parents are mostly involved with school boundary lines, opening and closing schools, occasional transfers of principals and RIF firing of a teacher, and more recently discipline in the junior and senior high schools--smoking, controlled substances and violence. Teachers in turn are concerned about their jobs, salaries, working conditions (mostly curriculum and classroom autonomy). In Milford, a major split exists, as exemplified in the Milford STA and the Milford NEA organizations regarding teacher power. Conflict within subgroups or core constituencies continually complicated our case.

For the moment, we select and focus only on one class of actors, the Superintendency. One of the most fundamental generalizations we have about the superintendency, after observing five superintendents is "living with conflict." Except for Grey (who died after five years in office) every other Superintendent, Briggs, McBride, Spanman, and George lived with it--sometimes sporadically, sometimes constantly, and usually traumatically. That seems so simple and so obvious.

The implications seem a bit less so. What does it mean for selection of superintendents? And what does it mean for questions such as how realistic are self selections of teachers who want to become principals and principals who want to become central office staff and central office staff who want to become superintendents? What are the implications for educational training programs for administrators? What do the "administrator" text books say about conflict--its antecedents, its nature, its consequences, its resolutions? How are administration courses taught? What can be learned from lectures, discussions, simulations, role playing, internships? Are there aptitude-treatment interactions? What kind of research and theory exists to inform this part of practice? Who is doing the imaginative inquiry and thinking in this area? Is it possible to codify such knowledge? And even if it is--is it useful knowledge?

Beyond the stories of Briggs, Grey, McBride, Spanman, and George, what is the experience of other Superintendents in other districts? To what degree is Milford unique? To what degree are school districts, school districts, school districts? What are the multiple strategies and tactics used by superintendents as they thread their way through the complications and complexities of such a position? What support groups, roles, and individuals exist? Do other superintendents have a School Board president who is sympatico, who drops in for a cup of coffee and a chat a couple of times a week? Do some find solace and help in local peer groups of superintendents? Does AASA play a role for others? Or, are the issues of social conflict better conceptualized as individual "stress"? And what of the array of mechanisms--family, church, clubs, hobbies, travel, and exercise as the preferred modes?

Although we are by no means experts in any of these areas, we have run into serious conflict in earlier studies of educational organizations. The most dramatic instance was in our Federal Policy in Education study (Smith and Dwyer, 1980). Several paragraphs from that suggests where our thinking was at the time and how it might proceed in this context:

> In a penetrating essay on leadership, Homans' (1962) analyzes briefly several key issues facing the commander of "the small warship." Ships are structured by tasks (for example, deck force and the below deck crews) and by rank (officers, chiefs, and sailors). Keeping some balance among those groups rather than letting them set off from one another is one of the most difficult jobs of the commander, according to Homans. Later in his monograph on The Human Group (1950) he amplifies this analysis in his discussion of leadership. Our long chapter on conflict in IAP leads to the interpretation that this was one of the most basic set of problems confronting IAP's leadership and that it was never resolved satisfactorily.
>
> Conceptually three of the most significant analyses of the interplay among social conflict, leadership and conflict resolution appear in H.H. Anderson's early papers (1937, 1945, 1946) on "integrative behavior," and in Sherif's concept of superordinate goals in his Robbers Cave experiments (1961) and in Whyte's (1953) brief but penetrating study of Action (A) Groups at Bethel some years ago. While we present these positions in some detail, even then they pale against the concrete reality of IAP. Gouldner (1954), Coser (1956), and Deutsch (1973) present major positions as well.(Smith and Dwyer, 1980)

We continued that discussion with an analysis of Anderson's position:

> The most general theoretical statement of Anderson's, and a minimally cited one at that, was the 1937 work with kindergarten children. We have abstracted the theory into Figure 58. The chain of concepts begins with differences among individuals in their needs, abilities and goals, producing conflict and incompatible actions. He argues that group members and leaders, teachers in his analysis, typically respond dominatively or integratively toward the conflict. He separates out compromising as a separate alternative. To the dominative reaction, higher frequencies of submission or resistance follow. Integrative reactions, seeking common purposes, produces higher frequences of creativity, spontaneity, and growth. Compromise does not remove the differences, although, we would add, it frequently allows other task activities to occur. Other times it creates more problems.
>
> (Smith and Dwyer, pp. 358-9)

Insert Figure 58 About Here

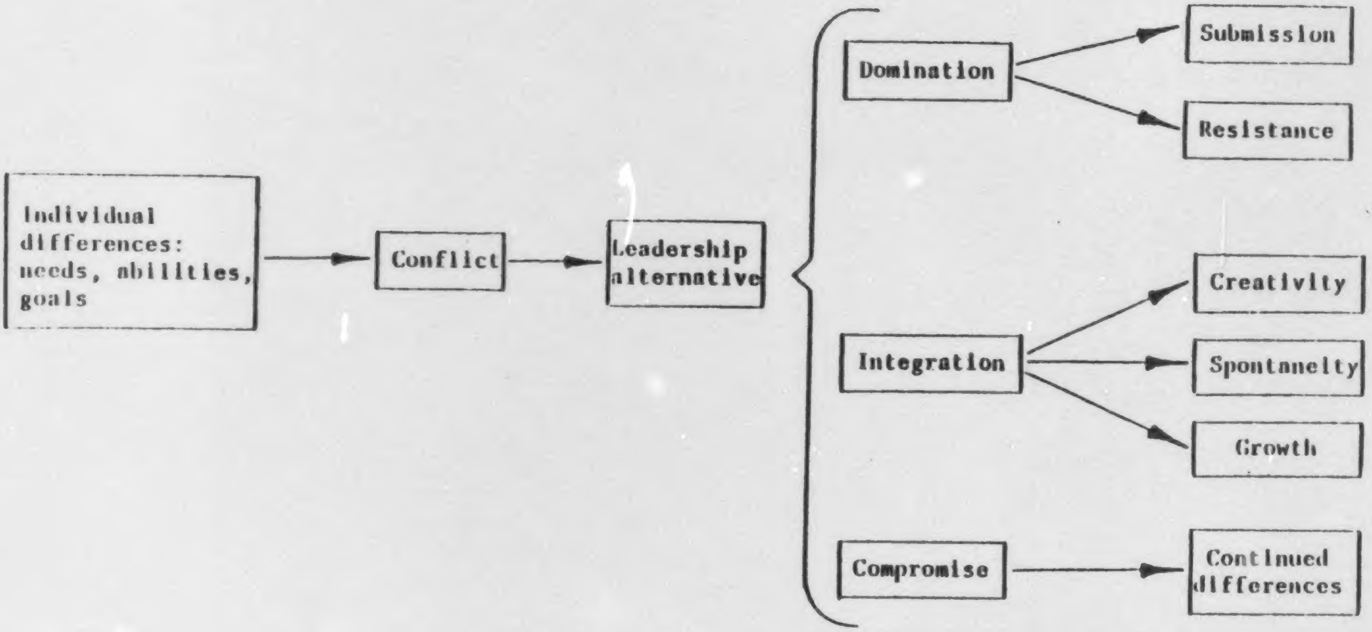
Individual differences: needs, abilities, goals
Conflict
Leadership alternative
Domination
Submission
Resistance
Integration
Creativity
Spontaneity
Growth
Compromise
Continued differences

Figure 58: H. H. Anderson's Early Theory of Conflict (1937) Patterned After Follett (1940)

In almost every story of conflict we have told, the main issue was encumbered with subsidiary and/or unrelated issues. In the struggle regarding the tax levy in 1970, the point was made vividly with: 1) the problems at Edinburg School--the streets jammed with parents' cars, faculty cars, and muddy fields if not parking lots; 2) Parents of children attending parochial schools were doubly or triply offended by their work routines being interrupted, possible difficulties regarding public safety, and having to pay for and support the inconveniences besides; 3) Similarly, adolescent teen town, drinking and peace disturbance overlapped the tax levy problems as well. How does one, as a board member, keep from getting angry, show concern to citizens with presumably justified complaints, help solve the problems and yet not get deflected from the major issue at hand, getting the levy passed so that the schools could stay open.

The Milford Board and Superintendent coped in a multitude of ways. Frequently, the Board and Superintendent called on relevant outside groups and individuals. Often this was with varying but limited success. One request of 25 mayors and aldermen and other elected officials received a response from only three. On another occasion, the State Representative from the area was influenced to talk with the Governor who in tern was helpful, in a short term reprieve, with an advance payment of $300,000 of State aid.

The Board frequently broke problems into pieces or chunks which involved different time units: immediate or short term, intermediate, and long term solutions.

Perhaps, in this concern for conflict among individuals and groups with legitimate interests and in the Board and Superintendent's wrestling with the problems, the political perspective which we have been fumbling towards comes more clearly into focus. Community leaders, church leaders, elected representatives are called on for help. Presumably one's success in this depends upon a history of nurtured relationships, rather than one off or one shot attempts. The individuals who are woven into that fabric and who stand well with their peers seem much more likely to achieve some of the desirable consequences. Presumably also there are costs to such relationships. The others make demands on you as well. Some of your freedom for autonomous action gets lost in this kind of give and take, of helping and being helped.

If we ask about social conflict and innovation and change, we find ourselves broadening Coser's (1952) conception of the functions of social conflict. Innovation and change are antecedents as well as consequences. A systemic view accents, for us a broader skein of interrelationships.

Power: Redistribution, Stabilization, and "Iron Laws" in Milford

Power, the ability to influence and control people and events, is another of those concepts about which teachers as professionals and patrons as parents tend to be inarticulate or not to have as salient in their theories and ideologies of schooling. In those schemes which accent "what is good for the boys and girls of Milford" or "the nature of basic skills or college prep curricular" the concept of power jars or strikes a discordant note.[57] In a sense we belong to that group. One of the most jarring views from the Board minutes was what we called "the potent Board member." Messers. Lewis, Tompkins, Wilkerson, and Reeves, over the years all fit that label. The minutes that reflected their ideas, activities and interactions took on what might be called a "look out" flavor. Their ability to gather, consolidate and use power made major differences in the day to day and long term conduct of the schools. Their stories remain both fascinating and provocative for innovation and change.

But it is not only educational theory and ideology as raised by actors in the schools that concern us but the need for more careful, fine grained accounts by our colleagues in the world of educational research and theory. For instance, in the initial paragraph of the Preface to their book, Schools in Conflict, Wirt and Kirst (1982) we have several quarrels. The substantive one is over their comments about the "administrative chief" and the larger losses in "discretion," what we would call power.

> 1)[58] The politics of education has changed dramatically since we closed our first edition in 1970. 2) It is surprising how quickly the political structures, actors, and processes of education have become so fundamentally

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[57] Partly here we call upon our teaching experience with teachers who are M.A. students in our program and the discomfort many feel when intoduced to Cartwright and Zanders (1968) analysis of power and influence and French and Ravens (1959),"Bases of Social Power".

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[58] We have added the enumeration for clarity in later commentary.

> reorganized. 3) The era of the local superintendent as "administrative chief" was then dawning.[59] 4) We did not, however, anticipate the multitude of actors and the complexity of the governmental patterns nor 5) the large amount of discretion the chief executive would lose. 6) The 1970's will be remembered as an era when the previous hallmark of American education--local control--became fully a myth. 7) The political web surrounding the school district tightened and included many more participants (1982, p. V).

We do not believe we are nit-picking, and we may only be echoing Eliot's (1959) concern about generalizing across school districts, or perhaps, we have a fundamental bias regarding case studies and other kinds of data. Or perhaps it's the use to which scientific accounts are put. Or perhaps generalizations between larger urban systems and smaller suburban systems are particularly tenuous. Or it's a concern over a shifting unit of analysis; national, state, and local. Or perhaps it's generalizations over time which are troublesome. But very briefly we would counter. In Milford:

1) Any theme you take--desegregation, demography, teacher activism, special education, etc. has a long and vital history with major changes at several points; 1927, 1954, 1961, etc.
2) No, the actors and the structures are evolving but have been there, usually for years.
3) The superintendent as administrative chief "dawned" in the mid 1930's. His/her "dawning" or "decaying" was more idiosyncratic to his/her personality and interaction with the Board as with Mrs. Briggs, 1928-30, and Dr. Spanman, 1962-66.
4) The actor most dramatically involved in the government web and everything else has been the school lawyer. The legal web has increased amazingly.

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[59] This seems a typographical error--dying?, decaying?

5) In Milford, the real loss in discretion has been the curbing of the Board's originally near total power, (except for state laws and the will of the electorate) in the early years, pre World War II, not the Superintendent's.
6) The Board's "local control" maybe a myth elsewhere. Even though declining over the years, the battles in the late 1970's indicates the Board's power "local control" remains "really real."
7) Yes

Their paragraph and the key statement or two regarding power have a curious fit and lack of fit with our stories and conceptualizations of Milford. For the theme of innovation and change, power follows easily from our concerns with nested systems, with politics, and with ill defined and entangled problems. More specifically, we extend the discussion with concerns for the redistribution of power, the increasing complexity in the exercise of power, and it's current stabilization. Intertwined with these processes are images of Michel's iron law of oligarchy.

In the course of our research, we have both told stories and cumulated generalizations. One of the stories (from Volume I) involved a high school teacher, Mr. Nussbaum, who was not rehired after seven years on the staff, for a series of reasons generally coalesing into a judgment of incompetence. He argued, that the real reason was his activities and favorable attitudes toward teacher unionization.[60] He lost several appeals. Then several years later, in the Spanman era, he reappeared in our story as he made a further appeal to the then new Superintendent, Dr. Spanman, and also to NEA. His letter appears as Figure

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[60] Our analysis of the evidence concluded in agreement with his judgment of the reasons. Particularly convincing were triangulated comments from a teacher who taught with the then CTA President.

59. The Superintendent's letter, drafted in consultation with the school attorney and approved by the Board, is Figure 60. Several months later a copy of a letter appears from NEA's Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities. It is included as Figure 61.

Insert Figures 59, 60, and 61 About Here

As we reflected on this story, juxtaposed to items such as the Superintendent's new (in 1962) personnel policy of exclusive nomination power, we are left with these generalizations:

1) Over the years, the control over school affairs has shifted from an almost absolute power of the board to a distribution of power among the several subgroups--superintendent, central office administration, principals, and teachers, and professional organizations. One of the more recent of these is a state tenure law which came too late to protect Nussbaum.
2) This distribution of power has become increasingly institutionalized/stabilized and makes it considerably more difficult for any one group to make arbitrary changes or to make very large changes.
3) Typically, the Board, which has had the largest share of the power, has fought the changes. Sometimes, as in the 3-3 Board split in the late 1970's, internal conflicts appeared. Eventually, the "old guard" won back its power. One of the key issues in the split Board concerned the power of teachers to negotiate. As we indicated, the teachers were split into two factions at that time. Also at that later date the once fiery social studies teacher and CTA President now was aligned with the Board.
4) Other parts of our data suggest that local and state powers have been distributed in part to a third party, the Federal Government.
5) That third party divides into three sometimes contending groups--legislative, executive, and judicial. Harmony is not always present here.
6) Through all this, the electorate exerts a variety of forms of "ultimate" control. We have vivid examples of bond and tax votes passing and failing, of board incumbents supported and turned out of office, and more recently of attempts for state referenda and constitutional amendments regarding what many patrons call "forced bussing", tax levy requirements, and aid to parochial schools.

October 9, 1962

Dear Dr. Spanman:

My teaching contract with Milford was not renewed in 1959, after seven years of successful teaching in the district.

No doubt personnel records will indicate the reason for the abrupt termination of my services. I would appreciate a professional enumeration of whatever causes led to the decision.

Yours very truly,

N. E. Nussbaum

Figure 59: Nussbaum to Spanman

October 17, 1962

Dear. Mr. Nussbaum:

I have your letter of October 9, 1962, requesting a professional enumeration of whatever causes led to your separation from your former teaching position with the Milford School District. As you know, I was not associated with the School District during your tenure and I accordingly have no personal knowledge of the matter.

The personnel records are silent on the subject of your request. I have discussed your letter with the attorney for the School District and have been advised that no dismissal nor proceeding in which a cause for dismissal had to be established was involved in the circumstances surrounding your case, but that the Board simply notified you as required by law of its decision not to renew your contract. The attorney advises me that such decision is a matter peculiarly within the discretion of the Board and that no reason need be given or established for such decision.

You are, of course, thoroughly familiar with the decision of the courts which ruled upon the circumstances in your suit against the School District.

Very truly yours,

Steven Spanman

Figure 60: Spanman to Nussbaum

January 14, 1963

Dear Mr. Nussbaum:

Thank you for keeping us current on the status of your request for written reasons for the non renewal of your contract in Milford.

A unique situation has developed in this case. The administrator (Mr. McBride) whom the NEA Ethics Committee might have declared to be in violation of the code of ethics is no longer in a position to speak for the school district. The current Superintendent, Dr. Spanman, by your own admission, is in complete agreement that a teacher should be given reasons for non renewal but is precluded by the Board from commenting about your case.

I do not believe the Ethics Committee, in fairness to any member of the Association, can cite as unethical the former superintendent for his failure to act at this time when he is without authority. Nor could it, fairly, cite Dr. Spanman who, because of his recent employment, is not personally familiar with the case and is, therefore restrained from acting.

The NEA had no part in the sanctioning of Blue Springs School District. This was strictly a concern of Far West State Teachers' Association and I am not in a position to judge whether or not the measure was successful. Some examples of formal sanctions are enclosed. You will note that in each case where formal sanctions were used that the local or state affiliate concurred. This policy of the Association remains in force and would automatically bar considerations of sanctions against Milford until such time as the Community or State Teachers Association would be in accord.

In view of all of the circumstances outlined above, including the fact that you brought suit (without our counsel) and thereby delayed consideration of your request for two years and cut off any assistance the NEA might have rendered at that time, I do not see how the Association can proceed further in this case.

Tenure for Midwest State teachers is an imperative. The Association will continue to make every effort to alert Midwest teachers to fair dismissal practices and to tenure laws existing in other states to the end that they will secure similar statutes in Midwest State. This is the only real and permanent solution to problems like your own in Midwest State.

Very truly yours,

S. M. Norman
Associate Legal Counsel

Figure 61: Norman to Nussbaum

For the student of innovation and change, for the appreciator of irony, and for the searcher of heros and villians, several interesting pieces occur here. The NEA official who wrote the letter was active in the controversy between McBride, the Superintendent, when the Board was trying to fire him in 1961-62. The Professional Rights Committee was brought into the controversy by the local CTA and its then President, Ron George. Later, Ron George would become Superintendent. Superintendent McBride and several of his Central Office staff had intimidated an earlier President of the CTA, when Nussbaum was not rehired. The exercise of power is quite complex in Milford.

If all this be true, it suggests some strong implication for educational innovators and reformers: 1) be selective in targets; 2) anticipate a long struggle, 3) develop a niche which maximizes day to day satisfactions during the battles; 4) support your highest priority reference group; and 5) be congruent with the various legal structures--unless that is what you are trying to change.

Michels' "iron law of oligarchy" and its more recent interpretation by Selznick (1950) essentially involved the politics of power. The expansion of the idea into the internal functioning of the school organization arose as we were reading and analyzing Board minutes from the Spring of 1974, regarding the possible closing of schools. Several items came together:

1) The Housing Committee was made up of Principals, the majority of whom had been in the District for years and who had survived the McBride and Spanman eras and were now into the Georgian period.

2) That group had to know "the lay of the land" regarding the Superintendent's point of view and the current Board's position, whose key members' tenure now overlapped George's tenure.
3) On the Housing Committee, among other, were Gillespie, a teacher with George years before, one of his first principal appointments, was just recently appointed Director of Elementary Education (March, 1974). Dr. Wales, who would come on the Kensington scene later, had just become a principal.
4) These selections, our other data would argue, were of men who shared the general perspective of the Superintendent and the Central Office staff and group of principals they were joining. There was no coercion, no soul searching for their "natural" proclivities tended to run in the same directions. Selection can be as powerful, if not more so, than socialization. Or socialization runs easily when one's predilections are similar.
5) The phenomenon seems "all of a piece", but not a one shot event, rather it is a continuous process. Presumably it begins with initial hiring of young teachers and continues with decisions as to which probationary teachers are kept and which ones are let go.

The critical point we are reaching for is the inference that: 1) the very framing of the problems; 2) the kind of concepts used in the construal; 3) the unexplored taken-for-granted assumptions on which the discussion rests; 4) the kind of alternatives considered; 5) the kind of data buttressing the argument at the several critical points; and finally 6) the specific recommendations made are all enveloped in the prior social and organizational events.

All along the way, this process is constrained by rules, regulations and norms. Board members are elected or not. Administrative contracts are reviewed each year. Public organizations such as schools have regular open meetings and times for "patron participation." Individual consciences, and generalized norms of "fair play," the importance of democracy, and individual responsibility are not empty slogans in Milford.

But the "natural drift" of the organization is toward oligarchy. Individuals who are outside formal and informal structures and processes and who want to change a particular item, or even more consequently, want to alter the "natural drift" have a huge and near intractable problem. We put "natural drift" in quotes because it is perceived that way in common sense, but we would hold that it is socially constructed. But, as we have said, being socially constructed is not synonymous with being highly malleable. Our earlier stories of the "potent Board President" and the "proactive Superintendent" suggest ways and means and perhaps also, a more complex web of pro's and con's in decisions and evaluations. But our central point is that not only the day to day decisions, actions and interactions, but also those of a more eventful kind, as was the Housing Committee, are the very bread and butter of the District running smoothly, the iron law of oligarchy.

For those who want a conception of power encased in an historically longer and a contemporaneously broader context we might mention again that Midwest State law states that each April two of the six members on the Board of Education will have their status contested in a local election. When we reflected on that item (in Volume I), we were continually amazed at the potency of its commentary on power. Secondly, and linked with stability and oligarchies of power, Midwest State law states that upon the resignation of a member of a school board, the remaining incumbents elect the new member to finish the term. The importance of that occurred several times in Milford's history with the late 1970's 3-3 split quickly changing to 4-2 when one of the "ladies" moved and resigned. Two elections later, the Board was 6-0. These are powerful socially constructed mechanisms surrounding "power" in schooling in Milford.

Finite Resources and Unlimited Demands

In a sense, everyone knows that school districts have resource problems. Seldom is there money enough to do everything that some individual or group wants accomplished. Our report and the data files on which the report is based, are full of items substantiating the generalization of "unlimited demands and finite resources." Occasionally a mundane illustration occurs which exemplifies the magnitude of the problem; one such item appeared in August of 1974:

> Mr. Ravarino asked to speak to the Board in regard to the request previously made to put up a fence behind the homes on Southway Drive by the New Junior High School. He said that the decision of the Board that they would be willing to put up a fence if the residents would pay half the cost was still not acceptable to the residents. They felt it was the responsibility of the District to erect a fence to stop the vandalism and children cutting through the yars. Mr. Ravarino said, "the School District is a bad neighbor." He felt the District should be willing to cooperate with the patrons and they in turn would be more supportive when the District was trying to pass a bond issue or tax levy.
>
> President Reeves told Mr. Ravarino a bond issue that failed in May had been defeated by the area in the middle of the District and if it had passed, it was possible the District could have put fences in several areas. He told Mr. Ravarino that the Board appreciated his comments and they understood the problem. However, he could only repeat that this problem is not unique to that area but it is a problem throughout the District. He said if the Board put up a fence in this area, all the other schools would want a fence and the District could not afford to do this as the District's financial situation was bad and balances were being used which the District had never had to do before. He said that this is not to say this is a closed issue but he couldn't give Mr. Ravarino much hope.

> Mr. Ravarino thanked the Board for their time and said since it was not a closed issue, he was not one to give up.(8/27/74)

Implicit also in the illustration are the fundamental problems of priorities and equity.

Further, there seems also an interactional game played between the Board President, Mr. Reeves, and the patron, Mr. Ravarino. The President never gets mad, retains a civilness and presents an honest clarity regarding possibilities. On the other hand, Mr. Ravarino, the patron, never quits.

But "resources" has been an important concept for us since the original Kensington study (Smith and Keith, 1971). There it was, the recurring "time and energy" which were so limited. And the case was special in that the Kensington faculty had no organizational history and had to build a social structure. Figure 62 comes from that analysis.

Insert Figure 62 About Here

Now our position on resources is broadened to the more general problems of the School District vis-a-vis the concept of "unlimited demands." The problems of Figure 62 are intensified in this context. But even more than this, the conception of unlimited demands and finite resources put a major constraint on all the processes raised by our other substantive concepts. Further, they pose interesting decisions and action alternatives for superintendents and boards. Spanman's gambit for a million dollars--Olds Foundation grant--is a vivid illustration of an alternative to expand resources. When it failed, the game

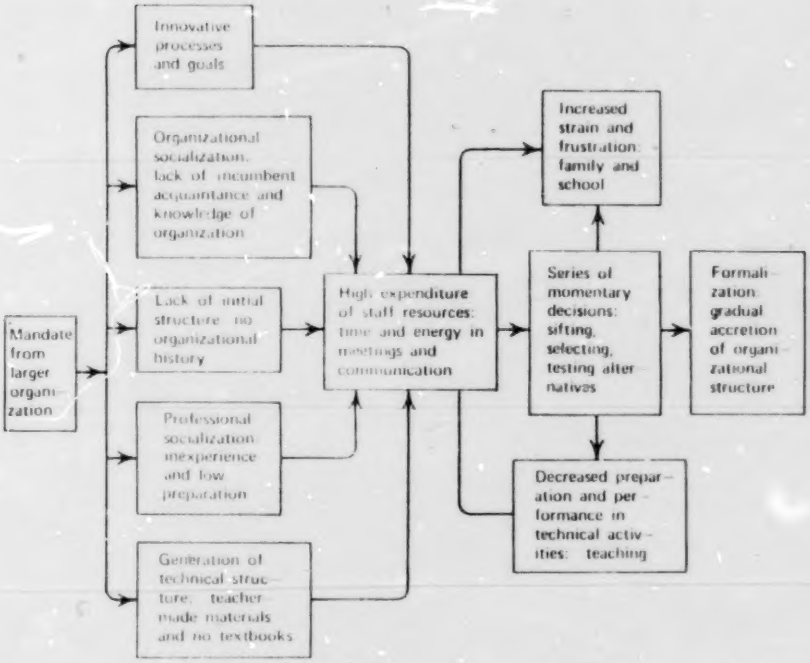
Innovative processes and goals
Organizational socialization: lack of incumbent acquaintance and knowledge of organization
Mandate from larger organization
Lack of initial structure: no organizational history
Professional socialization: inexperience and low preparation
Generation of technical structure: teacher made materials and no textbooks
High expenditure of staff resources: time and energy in meetings and communication
Increased strain and frustration: family and school
Series of momentary decisions: sifting, selecting, testing alternatives
Formalization: gradual accretion of organizational structure
Decreased preparation and performance in technical activities: teaching

Figure 62: A Miniature Theory of Resources and Formalization at Kensington (from Smith and Keith, 1971, p. 87)

was over, and in hindsight so was Spanman's tenure as Superintendent. In contrast, George has more typically restricted and narrowed his programmatic agenda. The ambivalence of Milford toward federal monies and aid to education is another alternative to the resource issue. We have traced its checkered career from the 1930's until the present day.

Choice, Chance, and the Threads that Hold Systems Together

Although a number of episodes qualify, the one that seems a prototype of choice, chance, and the threads that hold social systems together, is the career of Ron George. His activity as President of the CTA. in bringing an outside NEA group to investigate the District in 1961, the 3-3 Board vote to fire him in 1962, and the 4-2 vote (within days of the departure of one of his detractors) to assume the Superintendency, and in the late 1970's, the changing of residence of one of the women anti Board members when the Board was 3-3 suggest the tenuousness of destiny in the Milford Schools.

At this point we are tempted to return to the Greenfield side of the Greenfield-Griffith debate in his "Reflections on organization theory and the truths of irreconcilable realities" (1978). His concerns for smaller networks or local communities, for multiple perspectives on any one organization, for comparative and historical studies, for meanings which dissolve the fact value split, for seeing organizations (and we would say social systems) as socially created and maintained cultural artifacts, for integrating common sense understanding and scientific explanations, and for fusing data and explanation as some historians do are our concerns as well. But it's his discussion of chance events, buried in the inductive controversy over the relation of the particular to general, the concrete to the abstract, that we want to note.

We believe it is the realm of human choice which raises, in a predictive sense, the problem of chance. While choices are often constrained and hence more or less probable and while "given a set of events" other choices are more or less probable, at bottom (or at top?) human beings are special kinds of beings, animals, living things, chemical units, and physical objects. Aspects of reductionism are true as the series of more general analytical classes indicates. But, in our view human beings are not merely animals or chemical-physical complexes.[61] Decisions to vote yes or no, to join or leave, to agree or disagree have been critical throughout Milford's history. And on those rare events much of what is now the Milford School District has been constituted.

If these speculations have any merit, then, with Greenfield, the traditional view of the goals of educational research has been stood on its ear. Elsewhere we have talked of vignettes, sensitizing concepts and metaphors as the products of educational research. Greenfield sees artistic and aesthetic images:

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[61] In The Discovery of Time Toulmin and Goodfield (1965) present an historical and evolutionary view of the world and the consequences of this perspective for man's conception of mankind. Human beings are late comers to the world scene and have distinct differences from earlier items in that scene. Their view moves to even raising the question, "Are the laws of nature changing?" (pp. 263-265).

> In approaching this task, such studies must work with the unique, the specific to reach larger insights that carry conviction and meaning beyond themselves. The process involved is like the formulation of an artistic image that, though it is based on unique experience, becomes a symbol expressing the life and experience of others. Such research will be hard to do, but we can at least try. (1978, p. 20)

And so we have.

11.5 Ways of Schooling and Living: A Move to a General Conclusion

A Problem in Several Guises

Even in an endeavor that tried to stay close to the day to day actions, events, and episodes in the lives of the people who took part in the Milford drama, we found that broader, more abstract terms kept creeping into our discussions, commentary, and reporting. Reactive, cosmopolitan, traditional, conservative and so forth arose with one or another individual or subgroup. The ideas seemed to go to the heart of any discussion of innovation and change in the Milford District and the Kensington School. We didn't know what to do with those. In a sense we still do not, but we present them as ideas for others to consider. For the moment, the ideas have crystalized in the structural model in Figure 63.

Insert Figure 63 About Here

The ideas are the dimensions of conservative/liberal, traditional/modern, localist/cosmopolitan, and reactive/proactive. In its usual usage, the conservative to liberal dimension suggests the degree to which one is open to change, an accent on conserving versus an accent on

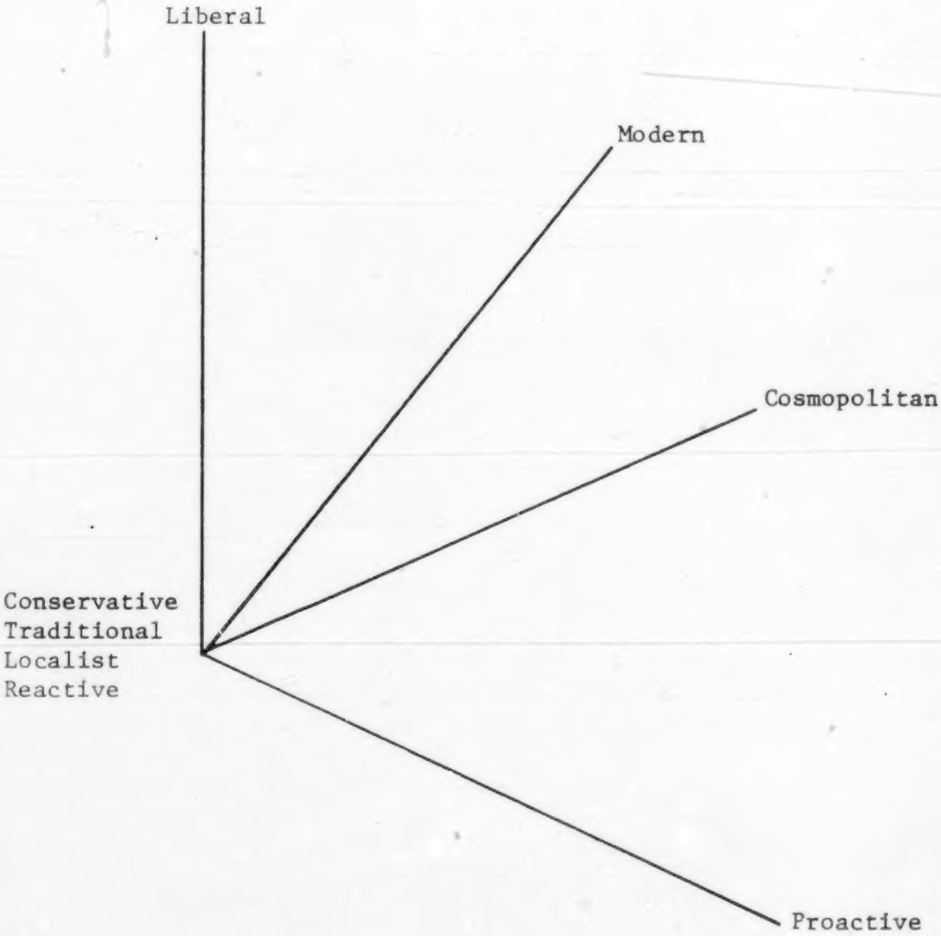
Liberal
Modern
Cosmopolitan
Conservative
Traditional
Localist
Reactive
Proactive

Figure 63: General Dimensions in Ways of Schooling and Living

changing. Other connotations suggest the liberating or freeing of someone from the restrictive state of affairs the just individual finds comfortable and work conserving. This dimension shades easily into a more substantive dimension, an accent on the "traditional" or the "modern." Traditions are social items handed down from the past. Modern, has to do with the more recent or new. Presumably one's beliefs could be contemporary, and one could want to hold them, conserve them, at least for the moment. The localist/cosmopolitan dimension again seems to correlate, although not perfectly, with the prior dimensions. Presumably the citizens of the world, could hold traditional or modern views and could conserve or accent change. Although in Milford, with its rural and small town origins and with its more post World War II lower middle working class population, the localist is more likely to be both traditional and conservative.

And finally, the proactive/reactive, again seems to relate less than perfectly with the other dimensions. The take charge, efficacious, entreprenural Spanman became our prototype. Dr. George seemed more reactive. But even here, a better choice of polar opposites might be "responsive," to the wishes of the Board. Responsive seems to convey a different kind of intentionality than reactive. Our image of McBride is less clear--but more a proactive localist.

At first we thought these dimensions might be applicable just to the superintendency and the various incumbents who have held the post, for example George is a localist and Spanman was a cosmopolitan. Then we found that each individual and group in the superintendent's "role set", the Board, the Central Office staff, the patrons could be similarly classified as we thought about them. For example, the potent Board Presidents--Lewis, Tompkins, Wilkerson, Reeves--all could be categorized on the dimensions. The congruence or incongruence in orientation between these men and their Boards and these men, their Boards, and the superintendent would make an alternative way to specify stability and conflict.

As we used the labels and observed others using them, we found the terms evolving into a shorthand for evaluations of the various actors. It seemed as though actions were being generalized both into larger abstract categories and these larger categories were also parts of implicit and only sometimes explicit value systems. That is, if Spanman was off to a national meeting and presenting his ideas he was becoming too cosmopolitan for some who thought he would be better off staying home and taking care of the local Milford problems. That merging of the abstract-descriptive labels with evaluative overtones occurs readily and easily with most individuals in Milford as they talk about McBride, Spanman, and George. This raises concerns for the complicated issues in conceptualizing, evaluating, and eventually measuring the nature and quality of a superintendent's (or others) performance.

Alternative Schemes and Issues

More casually than intensively we began looking for other classification schemes of key actors in schools and the implications of those schemes. Callahan and Button, in a series of publications, present a fourfold typology linked to a historical time line. Figure 64 contains their ideas.

Insert Figure 64 About Here

The categories do not wear easily with our five Superintendents.

Perhaps their ideal types are more a reflection of the dominant ideas under discussion at particular points in time. For instance, the last two decades in educational administration have been dominated by the "theory movement," which reached its high water point in the Sixty-third NSSE Yearbook, Behavioral Science and Educational Administration (Griffith, 1964).[62] From this vantage point we may better construe the dominant ideas as paradigms and turn this discussion back to our opening account of the Griffith-Greenfield debate. The more positivist administrative theory is under attack by a more phenomenological/social interactional/critical theorist wave of criticism. The applied social scientist or educational realist category may be dissolving.

The other categories seem to capture different pieces of the totality. The first and third, scholarly educational leader and educational statesmen seem to share a kind of charisma but accent different substantive goals and values--the first educational, the other democratic. In our terminology, both would be proactive, probably more cosmopolitan than local but either conservative or liberal and either traditional or modern. The business manager/school executive label, while capturing an economic set of values probably also fits a more traditional and conservative image, but could well be proactive or reactive.

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[62] Others saw the mark a little less high (Halpin, 1965), and still others, (Wirt and Kirst, 1982, p. 26), ignored it altogether.

1.	Scholarly Educational Leader/	(1865-1910)
	Philosopher Educator	(1865-1900)
2.	Business Manager/	(1910-1929)
	School Executive	(1915-1939)
3.	Educational Statesman in a Democratic School	(1930-1954)
4.	Educational Realist/	(1954-1965)
	Applied Social Scientist	

Figure 64: An Historical Perspective on the Changing Role of the School Superintendent (From Callahan and Button, 1964; Callahan, 1964; Button, 1962)

Once again, the descriptive, analytical, conceptual categories seem to carry considerable implicit value components as well. Patrons and citizens on different ends of our continua might well evaluate Superintendents in each of the categories differently from Callahan and Button. For instance, in Milford being a a conservative, localist, business manager superintendent is an accolade of the highest order.

Extrapolating A Step Too Far?

Imagination, courage, and foolhardiness seem to blend in our intellectual activity toward the end of our projects. Our model in Figure 63 which clustered conservative, traditional, localist, and reactive, seemed to capture the Milford patrons, board, and superintency circa 1980. We believe that stance can be described from a contextualist epistomology or world view (following Pepper, 1942 and Sarbin, 1977). We believe there exists a broad gap between that view and what we have seen as Hare's (1952) decision of principle. But we also believe that gap has to be narrowed in a perspective on innovation and change in schooling. Perhaps it is appropriate to quote from his key paragraph, to make our point explicitly:

> Thus, if pressed to justify a decision completely, we have to give a complete specification of the way of life of which it is a part. This complete specification it is impossible in practice to give; the nearest attempts are those given by great religions, especially those which can point to historical persons who carried out the way of life in practice. Suppose, however, that we can give it. If the inquirer still goes on asking "But why _should_ I live like that?" then there is no further answer to give him, because we have already, _ex hypothesi_, said everything that could be included in this further answer. We can only ask him to make up his own mind which way he ought to live; for in the end everything rests upon such a decision of principle. He has to decide whether to accept that way of life or not; if he accepts it then we can proceed to justify the decisions that are based upon it;

> if he does not accept it, then let him accept some other, and try to live by it. The sting is in the last clause. To describe such ultimate decisions as arbitrary, because ex hypothesi everything which could be used to justify them has already been included in the decision, would be like saying that a complete description of the universe was utterly unfounded, because no further fact could be called upon in corroboration of it. This is not how we use the words "arbitrary" and "unfounded." Far from being arbitrary, such a decision would be the most well-founded of decisions, because it would be based upon a consideration of everything upon which it could possibly be founded. (Hare, 1952, p. 69)

What we are saying is that students of innovation and change in schooling, as they move from the "simple" descriptive accounts of actors and events in a district like Milford and schools like Kensington are irrevocably caught in more abstract and general concepts, conceptualizations, and interpretations. These perspectives carry major implicit and explicit value components and overtones. To deal with them one has to develop increasingly complex, comprehensive, and coherent discussions. Finally, as citizens, as professional educators, and as researchers and theorists we must take a stand, make a decision of principle about schooling.

We believe the value issues are particularly troublesome for educationists in these accounts. We believe also that educational research and theory must deal with the questions of values and both learn from and assist practitioners through their quandaries. We see some of that begun in Fein (1971), Gittel et al. (1973), and Rokeach (1975). The imperative in this area stems from wrenching issues in conflict today, to wit: the inherent conflict between such stances as "fraternity/community/neighborhood schools," "equality/justice/affirmative action/

desegregation," or "liberty/freedom/individualism/local control." We have seen such divergent values in conflict at Kensington School and the Milford District. We know they are at issue elsewhere too. Whether the values and issues actually cluster in these ways more generally is an important analytical empirical problem in its own right. For our purposes here they suggest a next level of ideas with which one must contend.

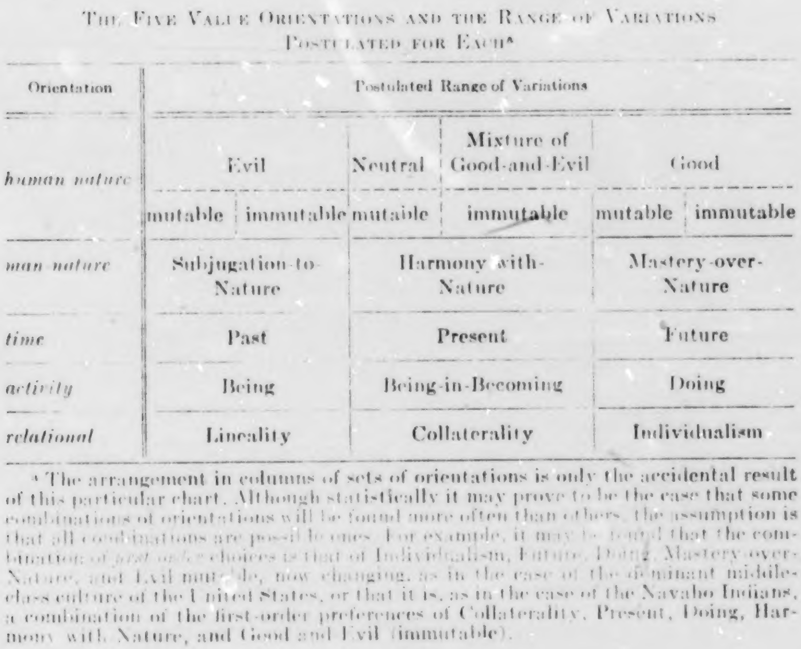
Peshkin (1978) in his study of Mansfield High School and its rural and small town community puts Mansfield on the horns of a series of value dilemmas: 1) personal identity versus intellectuality; 2) intergenerational stability versus maximizing academic achievement; 3) school-community harmony versus national ideals; and 4) a balance of academics, athletics, and extracurricular activities versus school consolidation. Localism and sense of community are writ large. Finally, he poses like dilemmas for all American communities--fundamentalists Kanawha County, White South Boston, Black and Hispanic New York City, and Amish Wisconsin--and for the larger population surrounding these communities. What kind of society does America want? What kind of schools should serve the "communities" of America? These are questions he is implicitly asking his readers.

The ideas in these pieces of research suggest how broad the expanse is before one reaches the position explicated by Hare. This gap, it seems, needs to be filled with broader maps of values similar to the ones raised by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) and Morris (1956). In Figures 65 and 66 we suggest their positions.

Insert Figures 65 and 66 About Here

Rather than comment at any length, we are merely trying to pose the problem. For instance, our general dimensions find partial representation in Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's figure. The traditional/modern distinction is well subsumed by the time orientation--past, present, and future. Our proactive/reactive dimension is illustrated by the man/nature variations--subjugation to nature, harmony with nature, and mastery over nature. When "other persons" is substituted for "nature" a very different image appears than the one suggested by their "relational" dimension. We seem to be saying several things. Our analysis is a very simple slice of a much broader set of ideas concerning values. Second, we are arguing that ways of schooling soon extend and merge with basic cultural ways of living. Third, we believe our ideas on schooling can influence these more abstract conceptions of value orientations. For instance, our cosmopolitan/localist dimension seems a fruitful specification of "space" a problem or orientation which they mention as a sixth item but had not conceptualized (p. 10). Fourth, this closes some of the gap and gets us closer to specifying the task set by Hare.

The Morris position captures our problem at a more individual and personal level. For our purposes, the labels are fairly self-explanatory. In his book, he presents a questionnaire with paragraph long descriptions which can be rated. The empirical part of his work results in five factors derived from a number of samples tested. We believe that his perspective will further close the gap to the Hare



THE FIVE VALUE ORIENTATIONS AND THE RANGE OF VARIATIONS POSTULATED FOR EACH[a]

Orientation	Postulated Range of Variations					
human nature	Evil		Neutral	Mixture of Good-and-Evil	Good	
	mutable	immutable	mutable	immutable	mutable	immutable
man nature	Subjugation-to-Nature		Harmony-with-Nature		Mastery-over-Nature	
time	Past		Present		Future	
activity	Being		Being-in-Becoming		Doing	
relational	Lineality		Collaterality		Individualism	

[a] The arrangement in columns of sets of orientations is only the accidental result of this particular chart. Although statistically it may prove to be the case that some combinations of orientations will be found more often than others, the assumption is that all combinations are possible ones. For example, it may be found that the combination of *first order* choices is that of Individualism, Future, Doing, Mastery-over-Nature, and Evil mutable, now changing, as in the case of the dominant middle-class culture of the United States, or that it is, as in the case of the Navaho Indians, a combination of the first-order preferences of Collaterality, Present, Doing, Harmony with Nature, and Good and Evil (immutable).

Figure 65: Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's Conception of Value Orientations (1961, p. 12)

Way 1: preserve the best that man has attained
Way 2: cultivate independence of persons and things
Way 3: show sympathetic concern for others
Way 4: experience festivity and solitude in alternation
Way 5: act and enjoy life through group participation
Way 6: constantly master changing conditions
Way 7: integrate action, enjoyment, and contemplation
Way 8: live with wholesome, carefree enjoyment
Way 9: wait in quiet receptivity
Way 10: control the self stoically
Way 11: mediate on the inner life
Way 12: chance adventuresome deeds
Way 13: obey the cosmic purposes

Figure 66: Morris' Ways to Live (1956, p. 1)

position and allow us and others to make judgments about actors, issues, and events in innovation and change in Milford and other school districts, both in ways of schooling and ways to live.

Finally, this volume began as a "contemporary context" for the changes occurring in the innovative Kensington School which are to be reported in separate monographs. But it grew well beyond its initial purpose. As we began to see the theme of innovation and change in American education, it raised intellectual questions of wide scope. Some of these have troubled us for years. Others are relative new comers. We believe we have moved with varying depth on individual items and with varying degrees of integration and synthesis on the totality. Tentatively, we feel and believe these to be important steps.

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